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BOOK 3 of THOUGHT and EXPRESSION in the SIX

the french mind

HENRY OSBORN TAYLOR

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About the Author

HENRY OSBORN TAYLOR belongs to the outstanding generation of American historians that includes Lynn Thorndike, James Harvey Robinson, and Preserved Smith. He was born December 5, 1856, in New York City, and died there on April 13, 1941. Taylor was graduated from Harvard in 1878 and received a degree in law from Columbia University in 1881. Law was not his calling, however, and he soon began to devote himself to the study of Western culture.

Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century (2 vols., 1920) and *The Medieval Mind* (2 vols., 5th ed. 1938) are classics in the historiography of ideas in America.

Other books by Taylor include his first work, *Ancient Ideals, a Study of the Intellectual and Spiritual Growth from Early Times to the Establishment of Christianity* (2 vols., 2nd ed. 1913), *Freedom of the Mind in History* (2nd ed. 1924), and *A Historian's Creed* (1939).

Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century is now published by Collier Books in five volumes, each of which may be read independently: *The Humanism of Italy, Erasmus and Luther, The French Mind, The English Mind,* and *Philosophy and Science in the Sixteenth Century.*

HENRY OSBORN TAYLOR

THE

FRENCH MIND

BOOK 3 OF *Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century*

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Note

The French Mind, the third part of *Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century,* remains one of the best introductory interpretations of the Renaissance in France. Under Louis XI, France becomes a strong and united kingdom—the monarchy sets the stage for military enterprise and royalty patronizes the new learning. Taylor tells the story of early French humanism and gives the setting of a court life from which the themes of architecture, sculpture, painting, and poetry are derived. Marguerite de Navarre, Rabelais, Montaigne, Calvin, and Ramus, key figures of the French Renaissance, stand at the center of a story that is a continuous and dramatic one for both France and Europe.

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Preface

My purpose is to give an intellectual survey of the sixteenth century. I would set forth the human susceptibilities and faculties of this alluring time, its tastes, opinions and appreciations, as they expressed themselves in scholarship and literature, in philosophy and science, and in religious reform. Italian painting is presented briefly as the supreme self-expression of the Italians.

The more typical intellectual interests of the fifteenth century also are discussed for their own sake, while those of the previous time are treated as introductory. I have tried to show the vital continuity between the prior mediaeval development and the period before us.

The mind must fetch a far compass if it would see the sixteenth century truly. Every stage in the life and thought of Europe represents a passing phase, which is endowed with faculties not begotten of itself, and brings forth much that is not exclusively its own. For good or ill, for patent progress, or apparent retrogression, its capacities, idiosyncrasies and productions belong, in large measure, to the whole, which is made up of past as well as present, the latter pregnant with the future. Yet, though fed upon the elements (sometimes the refuse) of the past, each time seems to develop according to its own nature. Waywardly, foolishly, or with wholesome originality, it evolves a novel temperament and novel thoughts.

We shall treat the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as a final and objective present; and all that went before will be regarded as a past which entered into them. It included

pagan Antiquity, Judaism and the Gospel, the influence of the fecund East, the contribution of the Christian Fathers,—this whole store of knowledge and emotion, not merely as it came into being, but in its changing progress through the Middle Ages, until it entered the thought of our period and became the stimulus or suggestion of its feeling. Distinctive mediaeval creations likewise must be included, seeing that they also entered formatively into the constitutions of later men. The Middle Ages helped antiquity to shape the faculties and furnish the tastes of the sixteenth century. These faculties and tastes were then applied to what the past seemed also to offer as from a distant and separate platform. Only by realizing the action of these formative and contributive agencies, shall we perceive this period's true relationships, and appreciate its caused and causal being, begotten of the past, yet vital (as each period is) with its own spirit, and big with a modernity which was not yet.

Two pasts may be distinguished, the one remote, the other proximate. The former may be taken as consisting of the antique world as it became its greater self, and then as it crumbled, while its thought and mood were assuming those forms in which they passed into the Middle Ages. The proximate or immediate past was the mediaeval time, itself progressing century after century under the influence of whatever had entered into it, chiefly through those last solvent and transition centuries in which the remote past ended.

The Middle Ages and the fifteenth or sixteenth century bore the same fundamental relationship to this remote past. Each succeeding mediaeval century, besides inheriting what had become known in the time directly preceding it, endeavored to reach back to the remote past for further treasure. Thus the twelfth century sought to reach behind the eleventh, in order to learn more of the greater past, and the thirteenth reached behind the twelfth. So Petrarch, in the fourteenth, would reach behind the vociferously damned thirteenth century to antiquity itself; and the

fifteenth century humanists endeavored to do likewise. That century, like Petrarch's time, drew from its immediate mediaeval past as copiously as each mediaeval century drew from its predecessor, and *willy nilly* resembled the mediaeval centuries in striving to reach back of them for treasures previously undisclosed.

One thinks of the transmitted influence of the past, whether remote or proximate, as knowledge and suggestion, as intellectual or emotional or social material to be appropriated and made further use of. It is well to think of it also as flowing on in modes of expression, which constitute the finished form of the matter, whether the form lies in language or in the figures of plastic art. Thoughts and emotions cannot pass from one time to another save in modes of their expression. And the more finished and perfect, the more taking, the more beautiful, the form of expression, the more enduring will be its influence and effect. The seemingly formless material which is transmitted orally or in manuscripts or printed books from age to age, had necessarily reached some mode of expression, however vile. And although much wretched matter has come down through time, we may not ascribe its survival to the shortcomings of its form, but rather to the fact that somehow in its wretchedness and intellectual squalor it suited the squalid ignorance of men.

So it is fruitful to think, for instance, of each mediaeval century, as well as of the great sixteenth, as drawing the language of its thinking from the past, and then building up its own forms of thinking and expression. Each province of discipline furnishes concepts and a vocabulary. As each century appropriates them and makes them its own, they become its modes of thought, and the forms of its self-expression. Thus not only thought, but the language of expression, is handed on with enhancements from generation to generation. Each generation uses the thought, and expresses itself in the forms and concepts, which it has made its own—has made into its self-expression. Yet there is some change, some increase, some advance. To the

transformation of inherited thought and phrase into modes of self-expression, each century or generation brings a tone and temper of its own, perhaps some change of attitude toward life, and at all events the increment and teaching of the experience which has come to it through living.

Difficulties of arrangement confront a work like the present. Shall it cleave to racehood and nationality or follow topics? Topics ignore racial lines and geographical boundaries.

The plan must bend to the demands on it. Sometimes racial traits dominate an individual, and the conditions of his life and land shape his career, even a great career like Luther's. A national situation may point the substance of an issue, as, in England, in Wyclif's controversy with the papacy. For quite another illustration, one may observe how a diversity of interest and taste between Italians and Frenchmen impressed a different purpose and manner upon classical studies in Italy and France.

On the other hand such a story as that of the advance of the physical sciences in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries has little to do with land or race; the votaries belong to every people, and pursue their investigations indifferently in their own countries or where foreign localities offer greater advantages. So a general survey should follow the course of the most dominant and vital elements.

A kindred question goes to the roots of the truth of phenomena: should one adhere to a temporal arrangement, century by century, or follow sequences of influence and effect across the imaginary boundaries of these arbitrary time divisions? While it is convenient to speak of "centuries," one is always pursuing the vital continuity of effect. The virtue of fruitful effort passes into future achievement. One seeks to follow facts in their progeny. Yet this is difficult, since the genealogical tree is infinitely ramified, and every event, every achievement, has as many forbears as a human being! The truthfulness of events lies in the process of *becoming*, rather than in the concrete

phenomenon which catches our attention. It would be as foolish to end the consideration of Petrarch with his death as it would be to treat him as if he and his work and influence really began the day when he was born, or first read Cicero. Nothing begins or ends. We may even think of all that is, or ever was or will be, as one mighty self-evolving present, which holds the effective being, the becoming, of the past, and contains the future, of which this present is in turn the becoming.

HENRY OSBORN TAYLOR

New York, May, 1920.

The French Mind

Chapter 1

The Unlettered Wit of Louis XI, Commynes, and Villon

THERE WERE ANALOGIES of human endeavor and intent in the intellectual advance of France and Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In both countries the same fundamental humanity was somehow pushing on, struggling and manoevering for possessions, also seeking knowledge, truth, and beauty. Divergencies at the same time appear, due partly to ancient differences of racial trait, and assuredly to the different histories of the two countries. The resulting Gallic-French temperament was not as the Italian; and the French mind seemingly sought other goals. Obviously, moreover, in the period before us, the opportunities, possibilities, exigencies of the two lands were very different. The intellectual product, the finished self-expression of the French in the sixteenth century, will not resemble the Italian, except when directly imitating it.

Caesar's conquest of Gaul did not result in any such indelible Romanization of its people as to preclude a marked originality of growth through the mediaeval period. Yet the quick, susceptible Gallic faculties lent themselves happily to the discipline of the Roman order; and this people seem to have gained from it permanent qualities of clarity and logic. To the west and north, Gauls and Belgi shaded into Teutons, while the Teutonic conquests of the fifth and succeeding centuries set a strong

German graft upon the Celtic stock. This resulting French race, fundamentally Celtic, yet with Teutonic strains, was akin on the one side to the Irish, and on the other to the Germans across the Rhine. Neither the Irish nor the Germans were subjected to the discipline of the Roman order; and in quite different ways were to betray through all the centuries the lack of this initial disciplinary period.

The progress of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in France would proceed from the equipment and faculties of the better people, be guided by their tastes, and depend upon their opportunities and the energy with which they should master further knowledge, and appropriate or develop new elements of life. French faculties and desires might in some respects show German and English affinities, rather than Italian; and Germany and the Low Countries furnished many of the new intellectual stimuli. Incentive and aid to better classical studies came not from Italy alone—Erasmus was an influence in Paris; the art of printing was introduced from Germany, while the style and method of Flemish painting extended through the lands of Burgundy and France. In philosophy, the influence of the German Nicholas of Cusa rivalled that of Ficino's Platonic translations; while many a new idea in terrestrial and celestial physics had its first home elsewhere than in Italy. With Frenchmen, love of formal beauty did not lead directly to the composition of classical centos and empty imitations. And, clearest difference of all, religious revolt, with its intended reform and reconstruction, which was but sporadic in Italy during these two centuries, in France, in Germany and Flanders, and in England, became the most drastic issue.

The fourteenth century, which for France was stamped by the ravages of the Hundred Years' War, was also marked by the partial disintegration of the social, political and religious conceptions which had sustained the mediaeval organism. France was still far from the attainment of political nationality. Much territory was distributed in

dukedoms and count-doms, the lords of which gave little more than homage to the Valois Kings, who succeeded to the direct Capetian line in 1328. This lack of unity issued in civil war when Burgundy allied herself with the English enemies of France, and the kingdom seemed shattered past recovery. Yet there was vitality in the French monarchy, which at last came into its own when Burgundy was joined to the royal domain by Louis XI, on the death of Charles the Bold (1477).

The contest of wits and arms between Louis and Charles is famous in history and story through the dramatic contrast between the two protagonists. It was a last phase of the conflict between feudalism and the monarchic principle, and was directly due to the custom of bestowing huge fiefs as appanages, upon the younger sons of the royal house. Philip le Hardi, the brother of Charles V of France, held Burgundy in 1364. Through the death of his father-in-law in 1381 he became also Count of Flanders, a year after the death of his brother the King. The King's son, Charles VI, a weakling from birth, became in the course of time an intermittent madman. Hostility between his brother Louis, Duke of Orleans, and his uncle Philip of Burgundy divided the realm till Philip's death in 1404. Philip's son and successor John took up the quarrel, and in 1407 had his cousin of Orleans assassinated. On his avowal of the deed, civil war broke out, each faction struggling to control the person of the King. John, a man of turnings and tergiversations, allied himself with the invader, Henry V of England, and brought to pass the temporary ruin of the realm. Upon his murder in 1419, Philip "the Good" came to the ducal throne. He had little regard either for France or England. But, deciding to make peace with Charles VII of France, he abandoned the waning fortunes of the English, and through apt measures for his own aggrandizement, succeeded in doubling his already enormous patrimony.

There could be little love between the rulers of Burgundy and France, and in the end Philip was pleased to foster trouble for the King by encouraging the latter's graceless son and dauphin, Louis, in his rebellion. He received, and for some years magnificently entertained him against the King's protest, who said: "Mon cousin de Bourgogne nourrit le renard qui mangera ses poules." At the Burgundian Court, Louis became the god-parent (parrain) of the heavy-fated Marie, daughter of Philip's son, the future Charles the Bold.

Philip excelled his liege sovereign in wealth and power; —only he was not a King! War was imminent between them, when the death of Charles made way for Louis in 1461. He was crowned at Rheims under the patronage and at the expense of the great Duke, whose splendor fastened all men's eyes. So it was in Paris too, till the Duke began to perceive that not he, but Louis, was the King.

The Duke was ageing; and his own far from dutiful son Charles (these Burgundian dukes were much too choleric) became reconciled to his father in order to direct the power of Burgundy against Louis whom he hated. He was soon heading the feudatory league, absurdly called the "Public Good"; and a critical time for the King followed the ill-fought and indecisive battle of Montlhéry, near Paris. Thenceforth through truce or peace, or declared hostilities, the warfare of intrigue and arms did not cease between them. This long and intricate story had its striking episodes, as that of Louis venturing almost fatally for him into Charles's Court and the mutually mistrustful potentates joining in an attack on Liége. The end of the story came through the perverse embroilment of Charles with the hard-hitting Swiss, which, after two disastrous defeats, led to his shameful death in flight. He was a foolish leader in war, and in diplomacy lacked patience and understanding.

The character and mental quality of the time appear

in the *Mémoires* of Commynes,[1] the chief narrator of this story. Through his aid we realize how Louis netted Charles, being so much less foolish than his rival, so much more patient and self-restrained. Allowing for differences of temperament, the King was no more dishonorable than that futile man who with such folly and so little steadfast courage, dashed his choleric head against impossibilities. Indeed, Louis XI was no more of a liar and betrayer than other princes of his time; but he could hold to his purposes. Commynes while admitting in his Prologue that there will be found in his *Mémoires* matters not to the King's credit, says: "I dare affirm in his praise that I have known no prince with fewer vices (moins de vices) everything considered." He has just been remarking that princes are men like ourselves—"To God alone belongs perfection; but in a prince so long as his virtue and good qualities outweigh his vices, he is worthy of remembrance and praise."

The writer was a man of wide experience and tolerance; a true exponent of his world. His own record required indulgence. For his father had placed him at the Burgundian Court, and he was the servant of Charles before he chose to yield to the solicitations of his rival, whose diplomatic minister he became. He preferred to serve a wise prince, who had knowledge of affairs and took part in them and did not do everything through others. With such a master there is surer chance of recognition and reward. Of course one has to live under those who are over him,—and our whole hope ought to be in God.[2] It was part of the intelligence of the grasping and prudent King that he rewarded munificently those who served him well: "Among all the princes I have known, the King our master knew best how to act, and how to honor people of worth." This remark comes toward the end of a digressive chapter in

1 Born in 1447, died in 1511.
2 Livre I, ch. 16.

which Commynes has been speaking of the advantage to princes of a knowledge of history; since life is so short that one cannot learn enough by experience, and should therefore make use of history's teachings.

Princes should understand men, and how, or at least when, to treat them well. Commynes brings in these sentiments when telling how an able Burgundian envoy, the lord of Humbercourt, preserved his own life and so handled the people of Liége that they decided to yield their city to the Duke when he could not have captured it. Humbercourt gained his end largely through his judicious treatment of certain hostages from the townspeople, sending them freely to negotiate with their fellow townsmen. The writer points to the ill-judgment of those princes who repent them of kindness or of generosity in pardoning. There will be some ingrates; but because of such, one should not forego the chance of doing well by others when opportunity offers. Commynes will not believe that any "personne saige" would prove ungrateful for benefits conferred. But princes deceive themselves in their choice of persons; to attach a fool to oneself will never profit long. A lord can show no greater sense than in gaining the attachment of worthy people—"gens vertueux et honnestes"; for men will judge him by those whom he surrounds himself with. And to conclude, says Commynes, "It seems to me that one should never tire of treating people well (jamais lasser de bien faire). For a single and the least one of those whom one has ever benefited, will perchance render such service and show such gratitude, as to atone for all the base and evil conduct of the rest."

According to the ideas of Commynes and King Louis, and of later times as well, the prince may wisely bestow gifts on the servants of other princes. Louis did this all his life with discretion and success. Commynes is capable of treating the matter with cynical humor, as when at a later period of Louis's career, after the death of Charles, he tells how Louis pensioned the great lords of England,

to keep them friendly to his wishes, and prevent their interfering with his designs upon the lands of the Burgundian heiress. By paying Edward IV fifty thousand crowns a year, he closed his ears to the remonstrances at home or from abroad: "L'avarice de ces cinquante mil escuz, renduz tous les ans en son chasteau de Londres, luy amollissoit le cueur." Louis's ambassadors were always well entertained, while they beguiled Edward with talk of a marriage between his daughter and the dauphin. Yet certain members of Edward's council, or his Parliament, thought differently, "saiges personnaiges" they were, "who looked ahead, and had received no pensions like the others."

This King Edward was a valiant leader, as Commynes says, and had won seven or eight great battles in England, himself fighting always on foot, which was greatly to his praise. But he was not as clever as King Louis, as men had good reason to think from the peace which Louis made with him when he had invaded France in aid of Charles. Louis obtained a truce, and sent the English three hundred chariots of the best wine, and afterwards made them still more royally drunk in Amiens.[3]

These happy ways of Louis did not include all his statecraft. Beyond other men, he knew how to sow dissensions. As Commynes says: "Que le roy Loys nostre maistre a mieulx seu entendre cest art de separer les gens, que nul aultre prince que j'aye jamais veu ne congneu; et n'espargnoit l'argent ne ses biens ne sa peine, non point seullement envers les maistres, mais aussi bien envers les serviteurs." [4] And if Commynes has shown how Louis could reward profusely, and even decide to trust, he shows that none could be more prudent and suspicious, as one had need to be amid the network of mutual treason and betrayal which made up the politics of Burgundy, France

[4] Livre II, 1.

and England, the last country being then engaged in the Wars of the Roses. Speaking of how a clever Englishwoman won the Duke of Clarence away from the arch intriguer Warwick and deceived the best wits, our author remarks "that there is nothing shameful in being suspicious, and keeping one's eye on those who come and go; but it is a disgrace to be deceived, and lose through one's blunder. However, to be over-suspicious is not well."

King Louis was an adept at discoveries and espials, and kept himself informed of the intentions of friends and enemies. Usually he succeded in laying his plots and counterplots a little deeper than theirs, and when the explosion came, it was not his trench that flew into the air. That was what the Count of St. Pol discovered, or rather failed to discover: a man who hoped by double or triple dealing to escape being ground between England, France and Burgundy. He would trick them all. The King's counter-wile was St. Pol's undoing when the latter sent his envoys with excuses. Louis concealed a trusted counsellor of the Duke's behind the curtain of the audience chamber, and then drew the envoys on to tell their master's mind touching the Duke, even alleging a slight deafness of his own, in order to induce them to speak louder. The enraged Burgundian counsellor reported what was said; and thereafter when St. Pol in person came to the Duke, on the latter's safe-conduct, he was seized, and handed over for final execution to King Louis, who, after trial, cut his head off.

Commynes was no Don Quixote. He viewed intrigue as he did war, of which he said, "qui a le prouffit de la guerre, il en a d'honneur." But there was a background of honesty in him, and much fear, or superstition, as to the anger of God descending upon flagrant injustice and the pride that puffeth up. He saw God's wrath coming on the Duke for giving all the glory to himself, and none to God, and especially for his treachery in delivering up St. Pol. Profoundly his narrative shows Charles a fatal

fool, a man of rage and weakness, whom in the end God or his own fitting fate would not fail to destroy.

If the drama ended fitly as to Charles, it ended as fitly with the King. He was no man to be so foolishly undone as the potentate whom he deftly helped Fortune undo. Yet his ambition might vault too eagerly. In the matter of the Burgundian succession after Charles's death, all that Louis had been scheming and fighting for throughout his reign seemed within his reach. He was then unwisely grasping. Although he got the land of Burgundy, it would have been better not to have driven the Duke's daughter, with all her rich Flanders towns, to the arms and wedlock of Austria. Commynes seems to think that God had rather darkened the King's mind. He suffered, to be sure, no outward overthrow; yet he declined through many months of premature old age, consumed with lust of power which was slipping from his senile hands, and tortured with fears of surely approaching death. Through his whole life of scheming greed, Louis was beset with superstition. He practised astrology continually, and grovelled before graven images, and that chief graven image of a purchasable God! It is an impressive psychological picture that Commynes draws of the King's slow end—of his months and years of dying, his vacillations, yet tricking to the last his enemies, and sending them far and wide to other countries for horses and dogs so that his foreign rivals might suppose him strong enough to hunt; he never looked at these purchases when they had been brought. He held on to every thread of power and authority, the ruler in him outlasting his strength. He was maddened with desire for life, and paid incredible sums to his physician, besides sending far and wide for relics with healing virtues, and calling a famous hermit to come and restore him by his interposition. Profoundly unhappy, and profoundly foolish, he would not see the emptiness of the husks he clung to.

One might have preferred Charles's bloody death to

Louis's bed-ridden end. Commynes is impartial in the long chapter on the small joys and the great pains that Louis had from being a tireless scheming King, and those which came to Charles from being a rich and powerful and consumingly ambitious Duke. From "l'enfance et l'innocence" Louis had every toil and trouble, with twenty days of travail and annoyance to one of pleasure. It had been the same with Charles—"toujours travail, sans nul plaisir. . . . car la gloire luy monta au cueur" [5]:—and the end was defeat and death. Nor were other rulers of the time much more fortunate. And Commynes concludes his disquisition:

> "So you see the death of all these great men in so short a while, who labored for glory and to aggrandize themselves, and suffered such pains and passions, shortening their lives and imperilling their souls. Here I am not speaking of the Turk, who is lodged with his predecessors! As to our King, I have hope that our Lord has had pity on him, and on the others, if it please Him. But, humanly speaking, . . . would it not have stood him in better stead, and the others too, and men of moderate estate as well, . . . to choose the middle path in these things? To worry and labor less, and undertake less; to have more fear of offending God, and persecuting the people and their neighbors by all the cruel means I have been speaking of, and to take ease through honest pleasures. Their lives would have been longer; sickness would not have come so soon; and their death would be more regretted and . . . less desired; and they would have less fear of death." [6]

One remembers that Commynes wrote in his later years, when he was sorely scratched by brambles; for at Louis's

[5] "always work, without any pleasure . . . because glory rose to his heart."

[6] Livre VI, ch. 12.

death, he fell from power, and was beset by foes, who wished to despoil him of part of the huge estates he had gained in Louis's service—honestly? That is no simple question. Commynes was a good manager, a quick accepter of emoluments; he cared for riches; and he was a man of piety, who feared God, and His way of upsetting the too flagrant and insolent wrong-doer. The iron had entered into Commynes's soul and into his view of life when he wrote.

This man of common sense and craft was a despiser of chivalry and its vain-glory; he believed in managing men, rather than fighting; diplomacy was his *métier;* worldly sagacity was what he admired. The seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth chapters in his fifth book give his views on public affairs. He has been telling how the men of Ghent, after Charles's death, executed certain of his noble ministers in spite of his daughter's protests, and of other doings of the people of this city—a city for which Commynes has little use!

> "And I cannot think why God has so long preserved this city of Ghent, from which so many ills have come, and which is of so little utility for the land and the public interests of the land where it is situated, and much less for its Prince; and it is not like Bruges, which is a great gathering-place of merchandise and foreigners, where possibly more merchandise is handled than in any other city of Europe, and it would be an irreparable loss if it were destroyed."

Having delivered himself thus regarding Ghent, Commynes feels there may be other considerations. "Indeed it seems to me that God has created nothing in this world, neither men nor beasts, without making its contrary to keep it in fear and humility. And so this city of Ghent does very well where it is; for that country [Flanders] is the most given to pleasure . . . and pomps and lavish spending. They are good Christians, and God is well

served and honored there.[7] It is not the only people to whom God has given a thorn." And he proceeds to speak of France as having England for an opposite, and England, as having Scotland, and so through the rest of Europe. These checks and thorns which God has set in every state and for every person are necessary:—"et de prime face, et parlant comme homme non lettré.[8] . . . principallement pour la bestialité de plusieurs princes, et aussi pour la mauvaistié d'aultres, qui ont sens assez et experience, mais ils en veulent mal user,"—and Commynes expresses the opinion that learning may make evil princes worse, but will improve the good. Yet knowledge can teach even an evil prince the fear of God and the limits to the power which God has given him over his subjects.

Commynes concludes that neither natural reason nor our common sense (nostre sens), nor the fear of God, nor the love of our neighbor, nor anything (riens) will keep us from doing violence to eath other. And so God is constrained to beat us with many rods for our "bestialité" and "mauvaistié,"—and especially princes of whose ways Commynes gives a severe picture; their outrages upon neighbors, injustice toward the nobles serving them, and toward the common people whom they oppress with taxes and exactions. Commynes maintains that no prince has the right to make any levy on his subjects, without their consent, except within his own domain; and he admires England as the realm where least violence is done the people and the public weal is best cared for. The King of France has no excuse for asserting the privilege of levying on his subjects at his pleasure. His true praise lies in having good and loyal subjects that will refuse him nothing. And Commynes praises the great loyalty of the

7 He says the same of Venice. Livre VII, ch. 18.

8 One bears in mind that neither Commynes nor Louis nor Charles had part as yet in the new fashions of learning already prevalent in Italy. They are sheer French.

French toward their young King, Charles VIII, to whom though but a child they humbly preferred their requests through the assembly of the Trois États held after his father's death; and this notwithstanding that the realm had been sore oppressed by the levies of the deceased King.

The greatest ills always come from the strongest! The little people and the poor find plenty who will punish them for cause or no cause; but there is none to punish princes except God. And for that reason God sets His judgments on them, that is to say on the bad ones—and there are few good! The ills they do proceed from the weakness of their belief in hell. Consider what a large ransom King John paid when taken captive by the Black Prince, pledging his lands and impoverishing his realm. That was to obtain release from prison! But how little he did to avoid the evils which brought this punishment upon him; and how little would a King do or pay to escape the pains of hell, which are many times worse than those of an earthly prison? The ill deeds of the great are due to their lack of faith.

Of course, Commynes has been compared with his younger Italian contemporary, Machiavelli, and one may throw the still younger Guicciardini into the comparison.[9] Commynes's protagonist, Louis, should be compared with Lorenzo dei Medici, rather than with Machiavelli's Cesare Borgia. In the first place these Frenchmen were Frenchmen, and these Italians, Italians: that carried some worlds of difference in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Next obviously, as the Frenchmen were somewhat older, and as France was tardier than Italy in the new classical revival, and more especially as both Commynes and his master had "small Latin and less Greek," these two appear as primarily using their mother wit and their own political experience and knowledge of men and affairs.

[9] See Book 1, Chap. 4.

Their educational background was the ordinary schooling, the current literature, the Christianity and the royal or feudal policies, which prevailed in France. To be sure, in the political education of France there had been such important foreign elements as the Civil Law and the *Politics* of Aristotle. But Lorenzo embodies the new classical culture of Italy; and Machiavelli bases his theorizing upon the wisdom contained in Roman History. He has more learning, and in the thoroughness of his political theory is as superior to Commynes as he is inferior to him in practical shrewdness and tact. Guicciardini also excels the Frenchman in his knowledge of the principles of politics, and may have been his equal in practical ability: but he is more utterly corrupt, being a creature of that political corruption which rendered Italian statecraft impotent. The politics of Commynes were more possible, embracing happy makeshifts of reasoning, such as a wholesome conviction that exceptional wickedness or pride would come to ruin, through God's punishments,—an idea as fundamentally sound as the Aeschylean conception of ὕβρις, the vain-glory of insolence, bringing the tyrant low. This thought was absent from the brains either of Machiavelli or Guicciardini. One queries whether it could be found in the conduct of Louis XI, who treated his God as purchasable. One notes that his addiction to astrology is not to be connected with the Italian classical revival, which strengthened this pseudo-science in fifteenth century Italy.

So France became a strong and united kingdom, whose forces could be used by its Kings in vain endeavors to extend their rule over other countries. The fact that the monarch had become the one source of land and gold and honors tended to renew the loyalty of the nobility in warlike devotion to the royal fortunes. Feudalism sank to a reactionary tradition, which might on occasions assert itself disastrously. And through the reigns of Louis's successors, royalty, following its caprice or taste, patronized

learning and literature and art, and court life suggested the topics of art and literature, and affected their treatment.

Louis XI and Commynes, his expounder, were not affected by Italy and classical humanism. The forces of previous French development, those making for the fruits of this world and those incited by the luridly imagined next, still energized in their faculties, and led forward the society within which and upon which these two political personages worked so effectively. Agriculture and trade and the industrial crafts had laid the material foundation. Mechanical experimental methods contributed, proving themselves in many ways, for example in the effectiveness of the French artillery. A select few were interested in the more rational or theoretical physical sciences which had been developed from statements and premises of Aristotle, or by departing from them.[10] A still vigorous factor in thought and life was the scholastic theology whose home was the University of Paris. For literature, there was the mediaeval cumulation of *fabliaux, chansons,* Arthurian and antique romance, and such chronicles as those of Froissart, his predecessors and successors. The *Roman de la Rose,* composed of the allegorical idyl of De Lorris and the cynical encyclopaedia of De Meung, was popular and influential. The period was still mainly mediaeval in literary taste and theme; though the old *motifs* were breaking, and losing their vitality.

The fifteenth century writers of prose and verse manifest few distinctive qualities. Among them was the first of professional literary women, Christine de Pisan, a Venetian by birth, but living in France, and a good French patriot.[11] She wrote interminable verse, and in her old age greeted the glory of Jeanne d'Arc, dying shortly after

10 See articles by Duhem, *La dynamique parisienne,* in *Bulletin Italien,* Vols. X, XI, XII, and XIII, and Book 5, Chap. 2.

11 See sufficiently in Petit de Julleville, *Histoire de la langue et de la littérature française,* Vol. 2, pp. 357 sqq.

1429. Somewhat younger was Alain Chartier, a student of Sallust, Livy, Cicero, but more generally of Seneca. He was the author of tedious, moralizing poems, but used a prose which we may think his loyal heart, stung by his country's disasters, had helped to strengthen and ennoble. He could not free himself from the mediaeval conventional setting of a dream even in those works of moving patriotism, where he adjured the nobility, the clergy, and the people of France to have pity on their mother's misery.[12] His mind revolved around the disaster of Agincourt and the defection of Burgundy. The lighter nature of Charles d'Orleans might have revolved about the same, since his father had been murdered by the Duke of Burgundy, and he had himself been taken prisoner at that battle, and not liberated until twenty-five years after, in 1440. Belonging to a race of Kings, he was an amateur of letters, and a clever maker of small poems. His faculty of verse was as a light skiff, which would have labored under heavy freight. Its usual theme was love, treated prettily, takingly, conventionally, and sometimes bitterly. Anything in his poetry might have been written and appreciated a hundred years before; and nothing in his cherished library indicated any taste different from that of the fourteenth century.[13] He died an old man in 1465, in the reign of Louis XI; about the same time that death put out the flame of François Villon.

It is difficult to speak of this thief and murderer, whose vivid gift of verse was rendered mordant by the bitterly insistent, hateful sense of death. Death pervaded his verse, making a mephitic atmosphere. This man of de-

[12] In the *Quadrilogue*, see Petit de Julleville, o. c. 2, pp. 366 sqq. There is a monograph on *Alain Chartier* by D. Delaunay (Rennes 1876) in which examples of Chartier's passionate eloquence are given.

[13] See Pierre Champion, *La librairie de Charles d'Orleans* (Paris 1910): also *Poésies de Charles d'Orleans* ed. Guichard (Paris 1842).

bauch and need execrated the cruelty which withheld from him gold and wine. Villain life would not keep him gratis in his lusts! It is the old false cry: had one his desire, he would do no crime! "Povre je suis de ma jeuness"—little had he through the heated years of youth, nor in "l'entrée de viellesse," in his thirtieth year! Prison had eaten body and soul. Villon saw that his end might not even be a filthy grave, but the gallows, to which he was once condemned, where he would be pecked by pies and crows till his skeleton rattled in the wind.

Ne soiez donc de nostre confrairie;
Mais priex Dieu que tous nous vueille absouldre! [14]

He had the common knowledge of the schools; but that scarcely affected a nature aflame with self. His verse was the utterance of this self, the cry of a thief and murderer, and yet the cry of a battered human soul, quivering with its ills. This cry was an envenomed melody of pain. No such vibrant lyric note had been heard in France.[15]

[14] "Do not then be of our brotherhood: But pray God that he may absolve us all!"

[15] The English reader may be referred to *Poems of François Villon*, translated by H. De V. Stackpoole (1914).

Chapter 2

Some French Humanists

In the France of the sixteenth century there took place a revival of classical studies, partly through suggestion and assistance from Italy, Germany and Flanders. The movement had power and volume and was to exceed all previous attainment. It even presents in vigorous acceleration the successive stages for which analogous phases of the study of antique thought had required a number of mediaeval centuries. That is to say, one sees a time of learning and appropriation, and then use is made of the new or increased material through constructive or imitative efforts in the fields of physical study and observation, imaginative and reflective literature, and the plastic arts.

Standing on the shoulders of the efficient past, sixteenth century France, vigorous, compact, brimming with life, reaches out for gain and adventure in military enterprise and distant exploration; reaches for pleasure in the intercourse of courts, in the grateful ennoblement of life through poetry and its luxurious adornment through architecture, sculpture and painting; reaches also for further fact and human values through classical studies, and through observation and reflection, and for a better verity in religion. The time's progressive energies may have equalled those of the twelfth and thirteenth French centuries, though their specific activities differed; and in the sixteenth century French development was more dependent on stimulus and aid from other countries. The classical scholarship

of the twelfth century in France, the scholastic philosophy of that century and the next, and French Gothic cathedrals, were not due to suggestion and assistance from contemporary foreigners, although the masterful French culture might accept teachers as well as students from abroad. Paris was *par excellence* the productive centre of philosophy and theology in the thirteenth century; and if Albertus and Aquinas, Roger Bacon and Duns Scotus were born in other lands, they gravitated to Paris as of course.

With reference to the antecedents of the sixteenth century classical revival, one may remark that Petrarch's visit to the French Court in 1361, as the Visconti's ambassador, was not without its awakening influences. His ornate Latin orations were full of antique suggestions. Some of his Latin writings, and Boccaccio's also, were rendered into French, and then the *Decameron*.[1] Translations were made of Cicero's *de Senectute* and *de Amicitia*, and of the *Ethics* and *Politics* of Aristotle, the latter, of course, from Latin versions. The Roman history of Livy was translated too, which would serve to diffuse a different idea of Rome from that in the "Romans de Rome la grant." These works of translation and the classical studies of which they were the fruit helped to develop the French language. Latin words pressed themselves into the rough and graceless verses of one considerable poet, Eustache Deschamps, in whom a national feeling is beginning to find voice.

The inchoate classical movement centres in the reign of Charles V (1364-1380), a king interested in letters and susceptible to their influence. He had assembled a large library, which naturally was quite mediaeval in its books. Among the king's cousellors was Nicholas Oresme, the

[1] The *Decameron* was barbarously translated about 1414, and a good translation by Le Macon made about 1545. See Henri Hauvette, *Les plus anciennes traductions françaises de Boccaccio, Bulletin Italien*, Vols. VII, VIII and X.

principal translator of Aristotle. Through him Aristotle's ideas were brought to bear upon the royal government. A younger man than Oresme was devoted to humane letters more entirely for their own sake. Jean de Montreuil saw the light shortly after the middle of the fourteenth century, and perished in 1418 at the hands of the Burgundian faction. He was secretary to the unhappy Charles VI, and employed by him on diplomatic missions. While on a mission to Italy in 1412, he met Coluccio and the younger humanists, Bruni and Niccolo Niccoli. Naturally, he admired his Italian friends, and revered the departed Petrarch, whose works seemed to him to rank with the classics themselves. His own taste had already made him a student of Cicero and Terence. He exerted himself and sought the aid of friends to collect a library. In fine, he appears as an enthusiastic humanist. But when the Burgundians broke into Paris in 1418, and killed him with his like-minded friend, Gontier Col, there survived no one now known to fame blessed with a disinterested love of letters.

Classical studies were continued rather lifelessly under the grey reign of Louis XI. One Fichet printed a rhetoric at Paris, and his disciple Gaguin an *Ars Versificatoria*.[2] For printing was now established in the leading French cities, an incalculable potential gain. Yet the presses were busied mainly with what either was written or was used in the Middle Ages. For example, the *Doctrinale* of Alexandre Villedieu, most popular of mediaeval Latin grammars, was printed and reprinted. And the new books offered little novelty. The lifting of the spirit was very slow. It was vigorously stirred by Jacques Lefèvre of Étaples, whose long life did not close till 1536. He was moved by a strong desire for verity, which led him to seek better

2 Gaguin was an energetic scholar. On Gaguin, Lefèvre and others, see Tilley, *Dawn of the French Renaissance*, Chapters VI-VIII (1918). For Lefèvre see Chap. 8, § I.

methods of study and general education; to endeavor likewise for a surer knowledge of Aristotle, whom he deemed chief of philosophers and salutary to the Christian soul; and above all to search out a truer understanding of the religion of Christ. No more than Roger Bacon, does Lefèvre impress one as touched by the literary charm of the classics. And although he was an incitement to others in their quest for truth, he was not himself a good Greek scholar at a time when Greek was coming to be regarded as necessary for the best understanding of the word of God. Knowledge of the Greek language was established in France by the labors of Guillaume Budé.

Budé was born in Paris in 1468, of a substantial bourgeois family who for some generations had held positions in the royal administration. When a boy, he was sent to Orleans to study law. There he proved a slack and pleasure-loving student, and after returning to Paris continued his gay life. When twenty-three, as from some sudden change of heart, passing from youth to manhood, he gave himself earnestly to the Civil Law, studying at first the Commentators. He soon pushed back through them to the text of the Pandects. There he found himself with the veritable ancients, though still the Latins. The thirst for Greek came over him. Scarcely a Greek manuscript was to be had, and the one old Greek available as an instructor was incompetent. Budé's zeal and genius surmounted even such insurmountable obstacles. When a few years later Charles VIII brought with him from Italy the famous Grecian Lascaris, Budé, already a good Greek scholar, clave to him. Lascaris's stay in Paris was all too short; but he left his precious books with Budé, who had already proved his knowledge by producing more than one translation. He occupied a small post in a government office, and was twice included in an embassy to Italy, where he made acquaintance with men and books. Through the reigns of Charles VIII and Louis XII, he worked with zeal, neglecting the chances of emolument at Court,

whither his reputation for learning had penetrated. Later he found a real patron of letters in Francis I, as he found a friend in the King's sister, Marguerite.

Budé became an enormous and universal scholar. He was the incarnation of the beginning of Greek studies in France; the incarnation too of the scholarship whose instinct is to penetrate to the source, as he showed in his *Annotationes* on the four and twenty books of the Pandects. The Bologna school of Jurists, working from the twelfth century onwards, had rescued and explained this great and veritable source of jurisprudence. But now that some centuries had passed, the commentaries of these *glossators* and their successors, especially the great commentaries of Accursius and Bartolus, were studied, rather than the original texts. Budé's work was again revolutionary, in that his *Annotationes* were directed to a renewed and better explanation of those texts, not rejecting the assistance of the Commentators. But his notes were interspersed with scornful attacks upon the wretched Accursians and Bartolists who in barbarous Latin blindly followed the Commentators even in their contradictions. Budé's work did more than represent a return to the methods of the best period of the Bologna school, for it proceeded with a clearer historical perspective and with the application of a philological erudition which they had not possessed. He sought to establish a better text, and to give truer explanations of its meaning. Nor did he stop there; but through an unprecedented knowledge of Roman history and institutions, he advanced to a broader explanation of those Roman customs and institutions, a knowledge of which was taken for granted by the juris-consults of the Pandects. He cast further light on matters of interest or difficulty through abundant Greek citations, which he always translated into Latin.

When the *Annotationes* had been published, and had aroused attention and applause, Budé undertook a work nominally upon Roman coinage, but in reality containing

a store of information touching all antiquity. It appeared in 1515 under the title of *De Asse et partibus eius* and was greeted with acclaim, and some disparagement; its fame has not entirely passed away. Its author showed no care for methodical exposition, and may have lacked the gift. The main purpose of the work, if it had one, was to determine the weights and values of the ancient moneys and measures. To this end Budé subjected to review the ancient literature, comparing the innumerable passages bearing on the matter, and endeavoring to extract from them some certain data which might be expressed in the weights and measures of his time. He recognized the complexity of such problems, and his critical sense was not satisfied with plausible results, but weighed every atom of the confusing testimony, as he had actually weighed every ancient coin that he could find. He used his conclusions very intelligently to form estimates of the wealth and expenditures of the Romans. So enormous was the mass and variety of citations, that the work became a thesaurus of ancient literature. Budé introduced several long *digressiones,* in which he set forth his views on vital topics, showing in these personal opinions his French patriotism and his Christian piety. He denied the sole glory of Italy in scholarship—might not the air and soil of France produce as good? The trouble lay with the great, who deemed the arts of peace below their dignity. He also made it appear, what indeed had been evident throughout the treatise, that the ancient literary worthies occupied no unapproachable pinnacle in his mind; he could criticize their faults, moral and intellectual, and especially their failure to appreciate Christianity.[3]

Budé accomplished other feats of scholarship. Such was his *Commentarii Linguae Graecae,* published in 1529, a work of great use to younger scholars. Then in his dia-

[3] Thus far I have followed L. Delarnelle, *Guillaume Budé* (Paris 1907).

logue *De Philologia,* he pleaded for the universal study of antique letters, as he did in the only French composition bearing his name: *De l'Institution du Prince.* As for his last large book, *De Transitu Hellenismi ad Christianismum* (1534) the title held implicitly the argument for Greek, which the body of the treatise expanded into an exposition of Greek philosophy as a preparation for Christianity. And he defended Greek from the imputation of heresy, cast upon it by the Sorbonne.

This great scholar's name has rightly gained honor from his efforts to prevail on Francis to establish chairs for "lecteurs royaux," who should teach letters and science for the ends of scholarship and knowledge, without regard to the demands of theology,—so insistent at the Sorbonne. These chairs of Greek and Hebrew, Latin and Mathematics, were the beginnings of the Royal College which in time became the "Collège de France."

Budé had his disciples and collaborators. Before his *Commentaries of the Greek Language* were published, French presses had printed two books of the *Iliad,* Plato's *Cratylus,* the *Tragedies* of Sophocles, and parts of Aristophanes. In 1539, Francis I commanded the casting of those beautiful Greek types which were to be the model for future Greek lettering, and in noble language appointed Conrad Neobar royal printer, confiding to him the printing of Greek books.[4] The royal patronage proved an incentive to Greek studies. Francis charged the French Ambassador at Venice with the purchase of manuscripts for his library at Fontainebleau, and assisted a scholar named Belon to undertake a voyage of discovery through Greece and Asia Minor.

The names of two young and exceedingly refractory scholars, poets, satirists, litterateurs, however one may characterize them, were Bonaventure des Periers and Estienne Dolet. They were born about the same time

[4] See Egger, *L'Hellenisme en France,* Vol. I, Lec. 9.

(1508 or 1509). The former died by his own hand in 1544, and two years later the latter was burnt in the Place Maubert for his obnoxious personality and opinions. He also may be said to have perished by his own violent will.

Des Periers was *valet de chambre,* or secretary, to Marguerite of Navarre. He held and expressed strong sympathies for the incipiently reformed religion, like Marguerite herself, or Marot and Lefèvre d'Étaples and Budé. But he passed on to a satirical scepticism about the year 1536, when Calvin published his *Institutio,* which was to bring Catholics, reformers, and we may add, humanists, to sharply opposed self-consciousness. Either a reaction against its tone and tenets, or other jarring or awakening influences, or his own clever carping soul, evoked from des Periers those four allegorical satires in dialogue form, which he called the *Cymbalum Mundi en francoys.* As *dramatis personae* under mythical and fictitious Latin names, the Catholic church and its institutions, as well as Luther and Erasmus, were made ridiculous. Catholics and Reformers united to suppress both book and author. Marguerite had to dismiss him, and after two or three years of trouble and perhaps incipient insanity, he killed himself. He was a good storyteller, and a poet of sensitiveness and feeling, who held himself a disciple of Marot. He also made French translations from the classics, like his friend, Dolet.

Dolet was a youth of exaggerated self-conceit and intractable temper: precocious scholar, zealous worker, addicted to scurrilous depreciation of others, a captious, impossible young man. His importance is rather factitious, due to his insistence on himself, by which some of his friends took him at his own value. They spoke of him with that sort of excess of praise which marks the friendly utterances of Italian humanists.[5]

[5] Dolet's importance may have been enhanced by an interesting monograph on his time: *Etienne Dolet, the Martyr of the Renaissance,* by R. C. Christie (London 1899, 2nd Ed.). I am indebted to this work for my facts about Dolet.

He was born in Orleans, and when twelve years old, went to study in Paris, where he seems to have imbibed his worship of Cicero. From his eighteenth to his twenty-first year, he studied at Padua. The university was then in great repute. The famous philosopher and teacher Pomponazzi, dying in 1525, had left behind him his arguments and influence, making for paganism and for disbelief in the personal Christian immortality. Bembo, at the height of his dignified reputation, made a home of lettered affluence in Padua from 1521 to 1539. Dolet studied under one Villanovanus, a great Ciceronian, and imbibed a love of Latin purity and the art of making orations out of Ciceronian phrases. Upon his teacher's death, he went to Venice as secretary to Jean de Langeac, bishop of Limoges, and after a year of study returned with the bishop to Toulouse where, yielding to persuasion, he began work on the civil law. His detestation of Toulouse the intolerant and superstitious, the archiepiscopal seat of the Inquisition and the scene of more burnings of Reformers than any other town in France save Paris, glares in his two orations of Ciceronian interpretation. In a letter to Budé, to whose greatness he had obtained an epistolary introduction, Dolet says that the Toulousans are more barbarous than Scythians. So he began his career of polemic abuse, which at the outset made him enemies influential enough to bring about his incarceration, from which only the influence of distinguished friends procured his release. So frequent were to be his subsequent imprisonments that someone spoke of jail as *patria Doleti*.

About this time a curious Italian impostor swims across Dolet's ken, whom he treats with proper scorn and ridicule. It was one Camillo, who through a life of laborious humbug, had elaborated a scheme of imparting to anyone a perfect knowledge of Greek and Latin, and the rest of human knowledge, in about three months. He devoted years to the perfecting of a sort of theatre of pigeon-holes, each labelled with some quality of the mind or division

of knowledge. With what sort of key or handle or rotary movement he proposed to transfer their contents to the minds of his auditors is not clear. But he made important friends in Paris, as elsewhere, and Francis I subscribed five hundred ducats toward the theatre!

Dolet had found Toulouse too warm for him, and had withdrawn to the country, when he received news that the detested city had made an edict forbidding his return. It was in the summer of 1534, and he decided to set forth on a two-hundred-and-fifty-mile tramp for Lyons, where he had friends and introductions. Sick and exhausted he reached that city, the second in the realm, not merely for wealth and numbers, but for culture and learning, and where thought was freer than in Paris under the shadows of the Sorbonne. Lyons was filled with Italians, bankers, merchants, introducers of the silk industry, and indeed governors of the city in the able and liberal-minded family of the Trivulci. Rabelais, Marot, Servetus and des Periers sojourned there, and there published their works, while other scholars were frequent visitors. The new art of printing had been introduced in 1472, and now flourished briskly at the presses of many master-printers, Sebastian Gryphius being the head of that scholarly profession. He had scholars (even the great Rabelais) as proof-readers. Among these Dolet was enrolled, and between him and the scholar-printer sprang up one of the few unbroken friendships of his life. Lyons remained his home until his death—when he was not fleeing or in prison, or visiting fatal Paris.

In 1528 Erasmus published his dialogue called *Ciceronianus* ridiculing the pedants who would use only the words and phrases, even the very tenses and cases, used by Cicero. The elder Scaliger brought himself into notoriety by a reply preposterously abusive, which Erasmus treated with irritating silence, and what was worse, supposed it to have been composed by another! Dolet saw fit to enter the fray with a clever Dialogue against Eras-

mus, which brought on him the censure of his friends for its intemperance, and also the wrath of Scaliger for presuming to write when he had written. A certain Odonus, in a letter to Erasmus's secretary, saw no reason why this fool Dolet should be answered according to his folly, least of all by the great Erasmus. The letter tells of his wretched mien, his squalor and premature old age, his monstrous conceit and scurrility. The picture is not more abusive than Dolet would have drawn of his reviler.

Dolet wrote this dialogue in Paris, when he was there in 1534 trying to obtain the royal permission for the publication of his *Commentaries*. The time was inopportune. That fatal tirade against the Mass, posted in an October night throughout the city, had driven the King to violent measures against heresy and enlightened thought. A year of persecution and burnings ensued, with edicts forbidding the printing of all books. If Dolet had influential friends, Budé among them, he had also active enemies, and he failed to obtain the permission. So he returned to Lyons and began the task of printing the huge work,—its first folio of seventeen hundred pages. About a year afterwards, Gryphius obtained the sought-for license, with exclusive right for four years, to print a book entitled *Commentaries on the Latin Tongue* by Estienne Dolet.

There was broader scholarship in Robert Estienne's Latin *Thesaurus*, which was a huge dictionary alphabetically arranged. But Dolet classified his words according to the connection of their ideas, and commented upon their interrelated meanings. In this he claimed originality. His illustrative examples, especially in the first volume, were drawn almost exclusively from Cicero. As the work progressed, the writer indulged more frequently in digressions upon matters touching men and scholarship, his friends and enemies. In one of these, speaking of letters in the year 1535, he shows pleasure at the dignified position and

flourishing state of literature,[6] but there are further sides to the picture:

> "Nothing is wanting save the ancient intellectual freedom and the prospect of acquiring distinction by the cultivation of the liberal arts. What the learned miss, is the affection, the liberality . . . of the powerful; the patronage of a Maecenas is needed. . . . Further, there is wanting to us an opportunity for the display of eloquence,—a Roman senate, a republic in which honour and due meed of praise would be awarded to it. . . . Instead of these inducements to the study of liberal arts, there is among many a contempt for literary culture . . . literary labour has to be pursued without any hope . . . of reward; the life of the student is passed without honour; the contempt of the multitude has to be endured; the tyranny and insolence of the powerful have to be borne; and danger to life itself is often the result of intellectual pursuits." [7]

The last, at all events, was true!

Pages might be filled with Dolet's labors, quarrels, intemperances and misfortunes through the remainder of his short life. He became hateful to the authorities at Paris, and after various imprisonments and releases, and renewed offenses, he was condemned to be burned in the Place Maubert, and there met his death in the year of grace 1546. Curiously, nothing contributed more directly to his final condemnation than the words *rien du tout* in his translation of a pseudo-Platonic dialogue, the *Axiochus*. The questionable passage referred to the soul's immortality. Dolet's judges misquoted him as follows: *après la mort*

[6] Given by Christie, o. c. pp. 256-262. One recalls Rabelais's comparisons in the letter of Gargantua.

[7] Christie's translation. Dolet proceeds to speak of the war of the scholars with barbarism, and gives at length their names in Italy, Germany, France and England.

tu ne seras plus rien du tout. This was the basis of the charge of blasphemy in that Dolet had falsely made Plato deny the immortality of the soul. It was joined with charges of sedition and the sale of forbidden books. His death is one of those many instances where the personality, rather than the specific acts and words of the freethinker, causes his temporal ruin;—an instance too of the sad unconquerable heart of man:

Et si de Dieu la volonté n'ordonne
Que liberté encores on me donne
Selon mon vueil;

Doits-je en mon cueur pour cela mener dueil,
Et de regretz faire amas et recueil? . . .

Sus donc, esprit, laissés la chair à part,
Et devers Dieu qui tout bien nous départ
Retirez vous . . .

Sus, mon esprit, monstrés vous de tel cueur;
Vostre asseurance au besoing soit cogneue:
Tout gentil cueur, tout constant belliqueur,
Jusque a la mort sa force a maintenue! [8]

The way for the full flowering of classical, and especially Greek studies, for France, was opened by the labors of the family of Estiennes (Stephens) who so grandly united the attributes of scholars, printers, and publishers. The first Henry Estienne printed a Latin abridgement of Aristotle's *Ethics,* with an introduction by Lefèvre d'Étaples, in the year 1502. He maintained a scholarly press with learned proof-readers. Of his three sons, printers and scholars all, Robert, born in 1503, dying at Geneva in 1559, was the most notable. This

[8] A poem written by Dolet in the Conciergerie of Paris shortly before his death; given at length by Christie, o. c. pp. 469-470.

talented youth profited from the scholars who were his father's friends. Like his father, he was an ardent adherent of the reformed religion. In 1523 he printed a Latin New Testament, and a Greek New Testament in 1546. He made a biblical *Concordance,* in eleven hundred pages of four columns. He printed a number of the pagan classics, some for the first time, and in the course of years produced his prodigious Latin *Thesaurus,* and collected materials for a similar Treasury of Greek. But his scholarly publication of sacred as well as profane writings brought him into such conflict with the theological inhibitions of the Sorbonne that he left Paris for Geneva, where he continued his labors. At his death in 1559, he bequeathed his business and scholarly undertakings to his eldest son, Henry, his chief aid and consolation. But this testament bound Henry to Geneva, since it provided that his heritage should lapse if he changed his vocation, or forsook the Church of Calvin, a provision which the Genevan theocracy construed to mean that if he removed from Geneva, he should leave his books and types and presses behind him.

This great intractable son was to find the censorship of Geneva as galling as his father had found the Sorbonne. His indefatigable life was spent as a printer and productive scholar and vigorous polemic writer, and in scarcely intermittent struggle with the intolerable theocracy of Calvin's city. If Calvin died in 1564, revered even by Henry Estienne, his post mortem grip throttled liberal thought and studies in Geneva. The recalcitrant Estienne, save for occasional incarceration, might go and come, but not even the pointed suggestion of the French King (Henry III) or the influence of his ambassador could prevail upon the City Council to permit the removal of Estienne's presses to Paris, where also life and liberty might be endangered. Estienne, of course, belonged to the reformed religion. Else he could not have lived in Geneva. But that

same fact imperilled him in Paris in spite of the favor of the political weakling and patron of letters, Henry III. He was bringing out his great *Thesaurus* in Geneva when the massacre of St. Bartholomew's occurred, in 1572; the crime was due, he maintained, to Catherine of Medici and her Italian conspirators. Afterwards, between 1584 and 1589 he spent much time in Paris until the assassination of Henry III made France too dangerous for him. Yet his dallyings with Catholic royalty in Paris roused the suspicion of Geneva, where he was otherwise disliked for his writings and rebellious temper. He was prone to print without previous submission to the censor, and after the censor's revision, was none too ready to insert or omit as directed. If his attacks or indiscretions were mainly levelled against Romanists, he cared not where he put his heel; and licentious freedom of speech made him seem to the Geneva Consistory like another Rabelais.

His French writings brought him the most trouble. Whatever the title or nominal topic, they were prone to prove polemic or satirical. His earliest important work, the *Apologie pour Hérodote,* bears an innocent title; the author professed to hope that the ministers of the Council would not trouble themselves to read his "little book" containing a defense of Herodotus. But they did, and found too many skits and funny stories reflecting on respectable people, and too great licentiousness of speech. They directed the excision of certain parts, and ordered Estienne to get back the copies which he had sent to Lyons. They were particular people, these ministers of the Council, having no taste for this hodge-podge of anecdote and satire; seeing no value in this *fatras* of arguments and funny tales.

It is easier for us to catch the point of Estienne's writings in defense of his beloved French tongue; which both defended its excellence, and urged its preservation from Italianisms and like foreign affectations, introduced by the Italianized Court of France and the writers who ministered

to court tastes. Estienne sympathized with the *Defense et Illustration* of Du Bellay and Ronsard, though he deprecated their paganism, their "pindarisme" and lofty dithyrambic ways, their abuse of metaphors, their obscure images and comparisons. There was no condescension in his vindication of the French tongue, as there was with those who would defend it only when classicized and Pindarized. Estienne maintained the pre-excellence of French as actually written and spoken, and not merely when fashioned by a school of writers. This is the argument of his *Précellence du langage Français,* in which is shown the power and clarity of French, its convenience, its peculiar aptitude for diplomacy and statecraft. Perhaps he espoused its cause more academically, after the prevailing fancies among scholars, in his *Conformité du français avec le grec.* There he maintained that the Greek was the most perfect of all languages, and that the French resembled it most closely, and was therefore the next perfect. Thus he set French above the other Romance tongues and above the Latin, their common mother. His Greek Thesaurus showed in fact that often truer equivalents of the Greek could be found in French words than in Latin.[9]

Such were not unfruitful topics of discussion when the European languages seemed but crudely to answer to the needs of science and the higher forms of literature. Then a scholar might well set himself to build them out and perfect them, and render them more grammatically exact, impeccable, and, as it were, inevitable in their expression of the period's gradually clarifying thought.

The work of Henry Estienne in classical scholarship (which has not yet been touched on) was distinctive of the French accomplishment in this field as contrasted with the Italian. Among the French are not found those jejune

[9] For this I have drawn chiefly on Louis Clement, *Henri Estienne et son oeuvre française* (Paris 1899).

exquisite works of Latin poetry and prose, which the Italian humanists took pride in. The efforts of French scholarship was rather to enlarge and solidify the knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages and literatures. Valla may be compared with the Frenchmen; otherwise Italy cannot match Budé's *De Asse* or his *Commentarii Linguae Grecae,* or the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* of Robert Estienne, who was so strenuously assembling materials for a Greek Thesaurus too. It was this that Henry Estienne brought to completion, and published in the year of St. Bartholomew, in five huge volumes, making it the crown of French learning in the sixteenth century. The expense impoverished this redoubtable author and printer; yet did not prevent his increasing his fame and poverty by the publication of his splendid edition of Plato six years later.

Even this Plato was but one great classic among the many printed by Henry Estienne. For he travelled ceaselessly, searching for new classical matter, rewarding himself and the world with such discoveries as books of Diodorus Siculus and the "Anacreon" (what we call the "Anacreontea"), both of which he published for the first time, the latter to become a chief delight with Ronsard and his *Pléiade*. He is said to have published fifty-eight Latin and seventy-four Greek authors, among them eighteen first editions.[10] The texts of many of these publications were so excellent that they were scarcely improved upon for centuries. The man was great not merely in the tireless ardor of his scholarship, but in the force of his temperament and loyalty to the France which had driven him and his father forth, but to which he eagerly returned when the skies of persecution lifted. Estienne still represents the scholarship of the French Reform,—of the circle of Marguerite of Navarre, of Rab-

[10] Sandys, *Hist. of Classical Scholarship,* II, p. 175; who does not give his authority.

elais, of Budé and Lefèvre d'Étaples; the scholarship of a religious reform which loved classic learning, and had not submitted to the effective intolerance of Calvinism. This union of true scholarship with truth-seeking in religion, which found its exponent in Erasmus, still inspired Henri Estienne, fallen on times of persecution and religious conflict, when the mutual hate and military exigencies of the warring faiths left little sympathy for the tastes and labors of neutral scholars.

Without pausing with such admirable scholars as Turnebus and Lambinus, who were royal lecturers, a reference to two greater men of the following generation must close our brief and truncated consideration of French classical studies in the sixteenth century. Joseph Scaliger (1540-1609) and Casaubon (1559-1614) never saw each other, and yet became fast friends through correspondence and mutual respect. The former was the son of the learned and truculent Julius Caesar Scaliger, him of the abusive attack upon Erasmus—and on Cardanus too. The son, familiar with the classic tongues at an early age, and later studying with the best scholars at Paris, developed the qualities of a sound textual critic, and produced improved editions of a number of Latin authors. From textual criticism he passed on to profound comparative historical studies. The fruit appeared in his great work upon the reform of antique chronology, *De Emendatione temporum,* first published in 1583, and twice afterwards with improvements and additions in his lifetime. This work, and the principles of historical criticism exemplified by it, became the basis of later historical and chronological research. Scaliger was of Italian descent and belonged to the reformed religion. He spent his last fifteen years of life and learning at the University of Leyden.

Isaac Casaubon was born at Geneva of Huguenot parents, and became the son-in-law of Henry Estienne, who nevertheless would not let him use his library. He was called to Paris in 1599 by Henry IV, and after the

King's assassination was subjected to well-nigh successful pressure to become a Catholic. He preferred, however, to accept an invitation to England, and was given a prebendal stall in Canterbury. He enjoyed the burdensome favor of King James, and the society of learned men; but he was unpopular as a foreigner, although he had been naturalized. Dying at the age of fifty-five, he was buried in Westminster Abbey. Among his contemporaries, his scholarship was reputed second only to that of Scaliger. His great merit as an editor sprang from his broad and accurate learning, his faculty of eliciting a true reading from a comparison of manuscripts, and the abundance of his illuminating commentary.[11]

11 Good articles in the *Ency. Brit.* by Mark Pattison and Christie on these men. Pattison's *Life of Casaubon* is an authority.

Chapter 3

The Circle of Marguerite of Navarre

In the broadening of French culture and the opening of the French mind to novel influences, a certain woman played a central rôle, through her station, her temperament and her intellectual gifts. Marguerite of Angoulême, the sister of King Francis, by marriage duchess of Alençon and later Queen of Navarre, was more than a patroness of the best spirits of the time. She was herself a moving agent in the diffusion of thought and feeling, tempering and rendering receptive the minds of those about her, of King Francis himself, who respected her, and whom she loved absorbingly.[1] Much of the period's spiritual history may be told in the careers of the men she at some time protected by her power, aided with her generosity, encouraged with her sympathetic understanding. Lefévre d'Étaples was among them, Budé, Clement Marot, Rabelais, des Periers. Calvin was to prove recalcitrant to her influence and hostile to much she cared for. She was herself an incessant writer of letters without number, of poems which run on forever, of tales in prose with moralizings. Her thoughts and feelings could not keep themselves from ink and paper, either while she was staying at one of her residences, or while travelling in her litter, moving with

[1] Marguerite was two years older than Francis, and died two years after him. Their births fell in 1492 and 1494; their deaths in 1547 and 1549. Her grandson became Henry IV.

her little court from place to place, as was her wont. Waiting and hoping for the coming of a messenger telling of her royal brother's recovery, she writes:

> Quand nul ne voy, l'oeil j'abandonne
> A pleurer; puis sur le papier
> Un peu de ma douleur j'ordonne.[2]

That was her way always. Her conversation must have been more influential than her writing, at least than her prolix and interminable verse, through which no enthusiasm for Marguerite will carry the reader.

Marguerite's breadth of intellectual interest was as admirable as her piety toward God and man; and the two will appear commensurate with her woman-faculty of loving. She and her court were the refuge and centre of that better scholarship and fuller humanism, and clearer-seeing piety, which characterized advancing thought in France, until Calvin so trenchantly severed goats from sheep. Marguerite and her friends, according to their several capacities, cherished the full gospel of man and God: the charm and lustiness of life; the antique philosophy and letters; and the truths of the Christian religion, more nakedly presented than the dominant Church approved. These people cared for these goods of life in whole or in part; and according to their several tempers fell in with or recoiled from the usages and beliefs of the Church.

Marguerite's ideal of life was humanly and religiously inclusive. She would unite the pleasure and excellence of this life with the Christian faith, and see life rise, stage upon stage, as it were from the flesh to the spirit, from man to God. The classics doubtless held the best of human learning. To them let there be added the book of the intricacy and sublimation of mortal love between man and woman.

2 "When no one sees me, I abandon my eye to crying; then on paper I arrange a little of my sorrow."

And as the last stage of life's completion let the whole world rise to God, human ambitions merging in the divine purpose, human loves melting in the love of God, human learning bowing down before the divine ineffableness. Marguerite found the method of this union in that loose and delectable "Platonism" which was the fashion of the Medicean circle at Florence. There Ficino had been chief expounder of Plato and Plotinus; and now, more especially in the decade from 1540 to 1550, his translations, his commentaries, and his own presentation of Platonic Christian thinking, had become known to Marguerite and her circle, and through their efforts or patronage had been made more accessible in republications and translations.

At an earlier period, however, Marguerite's first spiritual director, Briçonnet, had introduced her to the opinions of a greater than Ficino, to wit, Nicholas of Cusa, whose thought seemed destined to act as a universal solvent of case-hardened opinions, and as a suggestion and stimulant of larger views. As a churchman he had been liberal and earnest, and his opinions might incline men toward religious, as well as philosophic, reform. Specific traces of his influence appear in Marguerite's writings, and disclose the general effect of this great man upon her intellectual temper.[3]

It was in those years from 1540 to her death in 1549 that from the midst of her royal trials and disillusionment, and finally from the deep grief of Francis's death, Marguerite turned more completely to literature, philosophy, and religion. In the first years of this period she composed or collected most of the tales constituting the improperly

[3] See generally Abel Lefranc, *Le Platonisme et la littérature en France a l'Epoque de la Renaissance.* Rev. d'histoire litteraire de la France 1896, p. 1 sqq.; ib. Marguerite de Navarre et le Platonisme de la Renaissance, Bib. de l'Ecole des Chartres, Vol. 58, p. 259, sqq. Vol. 59, p. 712, sqq. These essays have been reprinted in one volume:*Grands Ecrivains Français de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1914).

notorious *Heptameron*. They are what they are, less amusing than those of Boccaccio, and with much the same sort of subject, though purporting to be true narratives of actual people. The real interest for one interested in Marguerite lies in the discussion which follows each story, and serves to moralize and uplift the tales, and prove them not to have been merely the pastimes of lubricity. These discussions relate to the various phases of love, its pain and pleasure, its good and evil, its brutalities and sublimities. Marguerite's thoughts, given to the speakers, especially to Dagoucin and Parlamente who seem to represent her, embrace Christianity, the new-vamped Platonism, and the preciosities of the mediaeval *amour courtois*. But the courteous love was affected by Castiglione's *Cortigiano,* the Platonism was that of Ficino, and the Christianity that of the dawning Reform, which was not Calvinism. These elements melted into each other. As a result, a scheme of human love rises through *precieuses* insistences and draughts of Plato's Symposium, to the love which, perfect and unshakable, is directed toward the utter good. On its way thither it will permit itself no dishonour. Replies Parlamente in the nineteenth tale:

> "J'appelle parfaicts amans ceulx qui cherchent en ce qu'ilz aiment quelque perfection, soit beaulté, bonté ou bonne grace; tousjours tendans à la vertu, et qui ont le cueur si hault et si honneste qu'ilz ne veulent, pour mourir, mettre leur fin aux choses basses que l'honneur et la conscience réprouvent; car l'âme, qui n'est créée que pour retourner à son souverain Bien, ne faict, tant qu'elle est dedans ce corps, que désirer d'y parvenir. Mais à cause que les sens par lesquels elle en peut avoir nouvelles sont obscurs et charnels par le péche du premier père, ne luy peuvent monstrer que les choses visibles plus approchantes de la perfection, après quoi l'âme court, cuydans (thinking) trouver en une beaulté extérieure, en une grâce visible et aux vertus morales, la

souveraine beaulté, grâce et vertu. Mais quand elle les a cherchez et expérimentez et elle n'y trouve point celuy qu'elle ayme, elle passe outre. . . ." [4]

Throughout her life, Marguerite's dominant passion was to love, and think and talk about loving. It directed her studies, controlled her life, and moulded her religion to an emotional mysticism, in which this utter woman merged all her thoughts concerning man and God in love's desire and realization. Without change of theme, we pass from the discussion of love in the *Heptameron* to the philosophic religious poem entitled *Prisons*,[5] which she wrote at the same time. Its first part has to do with human love, the first imprisoning illusion of the author's heart. When through force of will, the prisoner has freed himself from this embarricaded and fantastic tower, he sets forth at the opening of the second part to observe the world in all its grandeur and variety, the cities, the customs, and the conduct of mankind. He is stung by worldly ambition, is drawn toward the advantages of the Church, then to the Court. But an old man induces him to betake himself to study, since knowledge of the ancient philosophers, historians, and Scriptural authors will remove all ills. So he

[4] "I call perfect lovers those who look in their loved ones for some perfection, be that beauty, goodness, or charm; always tending toward virtue, and who have a heart so high and honest that they would not, on pain of death, aim at low things which honor and conscience would reproach; because the soul, which is created only in order to return to its sovereign Good, while it is in the body does nothing but desire to reach it. But because the senses, through which the soul could have news, are obscured and carnal as a result of the sin of the first father, can only show it visible things most nearing perfection, after which the soul runs, thinking to have found in an exterior beauty, in a visible grace and moral virtues, sovereign beauty, grace, and virtue. But when it has looked for them and experienced them and it has not found there that which it loves, it moves on. . . ."

[5] It fills pages 121 to 297 in Abel Lefranc's *Les dernières Poésies de Marguerite de Navarre* (Paris, 1896).

casts off ambition's chains, and builds himself, in the third and most elaborate part of the poem, a palace of knowledge; walls beyond walls, columns on columns, all learning's branches form this encyclopaedic structure of books, a prison as it is still to prove: poetry, law, mathematics, natural history, medicine, history, rhetoric, none is omitted, nor the name of any author; but Plato, St. Paul and Dante are the three our prisoner cares for most. Terrified by the pitfalls of error, and the danger of condemnation, he studies theology and Scripture, with watching, fasting, and prayer. From the prison of the letter, he is delivered by the divine Word: "I am that I am."

Clearly Marguerite is freed from her last prison through faith (the central principle of the Reform). She flings herself on Christ's universal redemptive power; in love she will fly to the All in Allness of God and revel in the antithesis of the All and the Nothing, *le Tout et le Rien*, which last is man. Marguerite loved to float amid sublimations and inflations of the thought of love. Well might Rabelais address her: "Esprit abstraict, ravy et estatic." She had proved a kind protector to him, and many a lesser man. And she herself represented the intellectual expansion of her land and time. She even represented that incipient and temperate religious Reform, which proceeded as much from the basis of the newly enlarged learning, and the accompanying clearer discrimination between fact and foolishness, as from disgust with the corruptions and superstitions of the Church. Religious reform, carried out in the spirit of Marguerite, would not have loosed the Furies upon France.

The poet, Clement Marot, wrote better verse than Marguerite, whose protégé he was, and whose views of religious reform he may have shared, though with different emphasis. If he had convictions, they were of the intellect; while Marguerite's represented the mysticism or metaphysics of religious intuition. The structure and substance of Marot's verse made no break with the previous,

even the mediaeval, achievements of the French muse, which he absorbed. Still, he had read Boccaccio and Petrarch, as well as Virgil, Ovid and Catullus. Slightly and superficially he appears touched by the new humanism of Italy. For he was born in 1496, two years after Charles VIII invaded Italy; and he died in 1544, three years earlier than Francis I, and five years before Marguerite.

At Marguerite's court, at the court of Francis, Marot was of his entourage and livelihood, a court poet and a cleverer one than his father had been before him. His light and occasionally brilliant verse, his epigrams especially, had profited by the talk and badinage of a lively and superficially polished society. This did not always preclude the expression of delicate and sincere sentiment.[6] Personally he was gifted with a persistent gaiety, not to be quenched by dangers or imprisonment, but which might suffer from the ennui of a refuge sought in Ferrara and Geneva. Those places were as congenial to this fugitive libertine of the spirit, as the sanctuary to the sprightly murderer seeking safety at the altar.

No other work affected Marot as much as the *Roman de la Rose,* which he edited and modernized in prison.[7] Here he was of his generation, which still delighted in that famous allegory and pungent disquisition upon life. Only gradually he developed the individuality of his own gay personality and environment. Then if he continued to write *rondeaux,* he wrote also ballads, and gave his spirit play in the cleverest of epigrams and epistles in verse. He also translated a number of the Psalms at the command of Francis, strange to tell. These translations, made from the Vulgate, are rather flat and nerveless. But they gained vogue at the court, and formed the nucleus of the Psalter of the Reform. Naturally, they rendered their author

[6] Cf. A. LeFranc. Le Roman d'Amour de Clement Marot. (*Grands Ecrivains* etc.).

[7] He edited Villon also.

obnoxious to the Sorbonne, and Francis was induced to forbid their further dissemination and dismiss their author.

Marot is an important personage in the history of French poetry. He is an effective predecessor not merely of Ronsard but of Malherbe; and La Fontaine recognized him as his master.[8] But this man had no temperamental affinity with the men of the Reform; he could not endure Calvin's city, nor would Geneva harbor him. Some of the tenets and practices of the Catholic hierarchy jarred upon the clarity of his intellectual perceptions, while the doctrines of the Reform appealed to his mind. Yet he was and remained essentially a court poet and a man who followed pleasure after the fashion of court society. He was not shocked by the *moeurs* of his time and place, and even his intellectual revolt against current religious opinion was not consistently serious.

8 Cf. E. Faguet, *Seizième siècle, Etudes littéraires*, p. 73, sqq.

Chapter 4

François Rabelais

THE PEOPLE SPOKEN OF in the last few chapters open the ways. Their tendencies and tastes, studies and endeavors, their expression of themselves in their pursuits and writings, naturally precede the rounded thinking, the perfected utterance, the splendid and final modes of self-expression achieved by younger and greater men.

In a sense all intellectual labors and utterances endure in their results; for nothing that once is done and uttered fails of some effect. But the modes of self-expression of a Rabelais, a Montaigne, a Calvin, even an Amyot, not to speak of Ronsard and his friends, were great and finished utterances. These achieved self-expressions represent climaxes, finalities, inasmuch as in their kind they have not been surpassed. They endure not merely as influences carried on, but in themselves as entities, as perfected exemplars, always impressive, moving some men to imitation, others to avoidance; but in themselves forever notable.

There was one of these men whose nature included many surging desires of his people, woven in the warp of genius. He has been a much commented on puzzle ever since he lived and wrote that book which seems to hold all life from the cloaca to the heavens. Its author—only one of his own words will fit him—was Gargantuan in his self-expression. Never did a mortal pour forth himself, his huge, *ingens, informis,* sprawling self, in such torrential superabundance as Rabelais. He is the most prodigious

expression of the French sixteenth century, voicing its life, its scholarships, its ideals, along with much that the Muse of Decency would leave unsung. Rabelais shouts it all forth in tumultuous delight. None will dare paint him; one may but follow his life, and put together bits of his Gargantuan self.

The intellectual currents of the times flowed into the capacious mind of François Rabelais, illuminating and expanding a nature that was itself an abundant spring of genial power and appetition. He had a Charybdean maw for life. Delighting in all knowledge, he ransacked the stores of learning available in the first half of the sixteenth century. He also delighted in every act and function of the human animal; it all made for life. Without sensitiveness, he wantoned with the lewd and disgusting. Feeling no repugnance toward any fact of human animality, he had no esthetic preference for the more obviously beautiful and ideal. Glowing with enormous tolerance and benignity for the natural man, his satisfaction went rollicking through the vast uncleaned halls of life. Every good thing was from God; and what was better than human nature? Unthwarted and untrammelled, it might be trusted in its brave carouse.

Rabelais's scorn and detestation were as tremendous as his approval and applause. Whatever was not life and knowledge, but a sham and lie, was a preposterous abomination; and likewise whatever broke life's currents and thwarted the joyful play of nature's functions was hateful and absurd—the work of charlatans and hypocrites, of prudes and pettifoggers. Monkish rules for diminishing joys and self-fulfilment were lewd hypocrisy usually, and, when observed, quite as pernicious. Rabelais was a supreme satirist, yet with little of the bitterness of hate. The usual way of his genial nature with the tricks and follies of besotted manikins was to smother them in obscene ridicule.

His works have called forth many interpretations. They and their author are touched with the mystery of the man endowed with an exceeding abundance of life; one whose work cannot be tabulated in categories of influence, or explained by conventions of allegory. These writings are alive, prodigiously. One sees in them the power of temperament,—which lies in the spontaneities of affinity and desire,—impelling the author's mental faculties to intellectual creation, supplying symbols and images. Yet this fecund temperament, so great a factor of the plastic faculty of this great student and artist, was not headstrong. It was amenable to worldly prudence, while the topics of its play might be suggested by the interests of the hour.

François Rabelais was born in Touraine, supposedly about the year 1494.[1] His father was a lawyer. When about seventeen, he entered the Franciscan convent at Fontenay, where not so much within as without its walls he enjoyed the society of a number of men of letters. The youth flung himself into his studies, learning Greek and laying the foundations of the encyclopaedic sort of knowledge shown in his writings. Later he will be found among the correspondents of both Budé and Erasmus. Before long he had himself transferred to the Benedictine Order, and became the secretary of his opulent and noble patron Geoffroy d'Estissac, a powerful bishop and a Benedictine prior. He found other noble friends, and knew many scholars, as he moved about and studied and observed. Monkhood sat lightly on this eager votary of life and letters. He would seem at some time to have studied medicine in Paris; and it is known that he finished his medical course at Montpellier in 1530. A year or two afterwards, he settled at Lyons, a great city, situated at

[1] I am following Abel Lefranc in the Introduction to the critical edition of *Oeuvres de François Rabelais* (Paris, Champion, 1912-).

a goodly distance from the sinister authority of the Sorbonne. In this town which sheltered Marot, Dolet, des Periers, and Sainte-Marthe, church abuses were criticized, and many persons favored the Reform. Rabelais was appointed physician to the Hotel Dieu, and won the respect of the learned by editing sundry works of Galen, the *Aphorisms of Hippocrates,* and other medical and even legal texts. He was abreast of the best medical knowledge of his time, but appears not notably to have advanced it. Dissections are advised in Gargantua's letter to his son.

Toward the close of 1532 appeared his *Pantagruel,* and about the same time he wrote his famous letter to Erasmus, calling him his father and mother in learning, "the tutelary genius of letters, the invincible champion of truth." Two years later, after the *Pantagruel* had been condemned by the Sorbonne, its author went to Rome, as physician in the suite of the most distinguished of his patrons, Jean du Bellay, who was soon to be made Cardinal. This Roman journey over, Rabelais later in the same year, 1534, published his *Gargantua,* which told the life and deeds of Pantagruel's father. Apparently this book also was condemned by the Sorbonne, perhaps, like the *Pantagruel,* for its obscenity. At all events, its vituperative epithets and abuse of monkdom made it hateful to those theologians.

Almost at the moment of the publication of the *Gargantua,* the posting of the famous placards against the Mass, throughout Paris in the night of October seventeenth, turned the King from tolerance to persecution. Accord between the liberal minded of both parties was made impossible, and the next year the publication of Calvin's *Christian Institute* prepared the issue for the eventual arbitrament of the sword. Not long afterwards Rabelais left Lyons quietly, and accompanied Cardinal du Bellay to Italy and Rome. There he obtained a papal absolution for abandoning the Franciscans for the Benedictines and following the secular profession of medicine. Through

he next years he led a life of study, medical practice, and —prudence. He expunged the most hostile passages of he *Gargantua,* and kept within the protection of his pow-rful friends, among whom was Queen Marguerite of Navarre. It was probably through her that in 1545 he btained from the King the privilege to publish the third ook of the *Heroic Deeds of Pantagruel,* and correct and epublish the two previous books. The third book, in its Rabelaisean way, had mainly to do with the question of Panurge's marriage. Its matter was not unrelated to dis-ussions then rife among the ladies. But the sunny weather gave way before some months of intolerant reaction, when Rabelais again found need to retire from Paris, and in-leed from France. Several years later, in 1551, the Cardin-l du Bellay gave him the cure of St-Martin-de-Meudon, vhich he held for two years, discharging its duties through vicar. In January 1552 appeared the fourth and last ertainly genuine book of the *Heroic Deeds and Sayings of Pantagruel,* with the author's name attached. It contained normous satires on the papacy; but it appeared at a time vhen Rabelais had many protectors, and when the policy f Henry II was for the moment anti-papal. He saved imself from the reproach of Protestantism by calling Cal-in the demoniac impostor of Geneva. Nevertheless this ook was soon condemned by the Sorbonne, and the next ear the author died.

Rabelais's omnivorous mind sought to engulf the entire earning and knowledge available in France—a France nstructed by Italy as well as by Erasmus, a France which ad its own Budé, who was becoming a colossal scholar vhen in 1500 the *Adages* of Erasmus threw the light of penetrating intelligence over the classic literature. By ne time of Rabelais's student years, the work of such cholars had made possible the study of Greek, and Rabelais gained a reading and writing knowledge of that ongue. Yet in his youth and early manhood, men still eld to the educational matter of the prior time. In France,

as in Italy, the mediaeval past was reviled rather than actually discarded; and the idea of the value of encyclopaedic conventional knowledge gained from books, with little independent thought or observation, still enveloped the mind of Rabelais. But he satirizes, somewhat imaginatively, the old curriculum and its stupfying effect upon the giant prince Gargantua, whose excellent parts had already been evinced in the dirtiest chapter of the book. He is instructed by a great doctor,[2] Master Tubal Holofernes, who spends five years with him on the alphabet, till he can recite it backwards; and keeps him for thirteen years, six months, and two weeks more on *Donatus* and other mediaeval school books, and then sixteen years on others, when the old fellow dies. Next, another old cougher (tousseux) takes him through other antiquated books, including the *Doctrinale*, a grammar which not all the scholars of that time disapproved.[3] In this way Gargantua was made stupider and stupider.

A neighboring prince comes to visit King Grangousier, having in his train a sprightly youth Eudemon. The latter exhibits his courtly accomplishments, and Grangousier is enraged over the futile education of his son. Gargantua is forthwith turned over to the care of Panocrates, the tutor of Eudemon, and sets forth in their company for Paris.[4] There, when the young giant has casually taken the bells of *Notre Dame* to string around his mare's neck, more ridicule is cast on current ways of speech and education in the person of the preposterous pedant who comes to plead for their return.

This picture of the old education and its teachers, and the effect on the pupil, is loud caricature and palpable mis-

2 I, Chapter XIV, *Sophiste*, i. e. scholastic, in the more prudent editions of 1542; *docteur en théologie*, in the edition of 1535.

3 Cf *The Mediaeval Mind*, Vol. II, pp. 152-154.

4 It has been noted that the names of the representatives of the new learning are Greek.

representation. And when in the twenty-third and-fourth chapters, Rabelais describes the new education of Gargantua,—after a draught of hellebore has purged his mind of the old stuff,—then we find a converse idealizing exaggeration, which befits this romance. Gargantua is instructed in all the learning of the time, and practiced in the martial exercises befitting a gentleman—the influence of Castiglione's *Courtier* is apparent. His studies are encyclopaedic, and, one may add, administered in ways similar to those prevailing for years or centuries in the colleges. Yet Rabelais introduces novel ideas. Gargantua's education is carried on through hours of repast, repose, and recreation: he learns the stars in the wakeful hours of night, and the nature and qualities of the food he eats by hearing the ancient authorities read aloud at meals; and from tricks at cards he gains a taste for mathematics.[5] In rainy weather

> "they did recreate themselves in bottling up [bailing] of hay, in cleaving and sawing of wood, and in threshing sheaves of corn at the barn. Then they studied the art of painting or carving. . . . They went likewise to see the drawing of metals, or the casting of great ordnance; how the lapidaries did work; as also the goldsmiths and cutters of precious stones. Nor did they omit to visit the alchemists, money coiners, upholsterers, weavers, velvet-workers, watchmakers, looking-glass framers, printers, organists, and other such kind of artificers, and, everywhere giving them somewhat to drink, did learn and consider the industry and invention of the trades. They went also to hear the public lectures . . . the pleading of gentle lawyers, and sermons of evangelical preachers." [6]

Rabelais joins physical to intellectual training, regu-

[5] Cardanus (see Vol. V, Chap. 3) had this idea.
[6] I, Chapter XXIV, Urquhart's Translation (1653).

lates the hours of rising and repose, and advocates a diet suitable to periods of active exercise, or again to the indoor pursuits of rainy days.[7]

In the next generation, and the next book, (written two years before the first, however,) Gargantua's glorious son, Pantagruel, likewise goes to Paris for his education, but without the dead weight of a youth besotted with the pedantries of the past, as Rabelais would deem them. Pantagruel examines the library of St. Victor, and gives a list of books, filthy and ridiculous. The eighth chapter contains Gargantua's letter setting before his son the program of a truly liberal education, such as, indeed, he had himself received in part. It opens with thanks to God for permitting the writer to see his bald old age reflourish in his son's youth. But it would be small joy to see his body continued in his son, if the young prince's soul were degenerate. Not that he distrusts him, but would encourage him to advance from good to better.

"And that which I now write unto thee is not so much that thou should'st live in this virtuous course, as that thou should'st rejoice in so living and having lived. . . .

"But although my deceased father of happy memory, Grangousier, had bent his best endeavors to make me profit in all perfection and political knowledge, and my labour and study . . . went beyond his desire, nevertheless, as thou may'st well understand, the time then was not so proper and fit for learning as it is at present, neither had I plenty of such good masters as thou hast had. For that time was darksome, and savouring of the infelicity and calamity of the Goths, who had brought to destruction all good literature, which in my age hath by the divine goodness been restored unto its former light and dignity, and, that with such amendment and increase of the knowledge, that now hardly should I be

[7] Cf. Lefranc, Introduction, pp. XCIV, sqq.

admitted unto the first form of the little grammar-schoolboys, I who in my youthful days was, and that justly, reputed the most learned of that age. . . .

"Now all the Sciences (Disciplines) are restored; the languages are established, Greek, without which a man may be ashamed to account him a scholar, Hebrew, Chaldean (i. e. Syriac or Aramaic), Latin; and printed books are now in use, so elegant and correct, and invention of my age by divine inspiration, as artillery is a counter-invention through the suggestion of the devil. All the world is full of learned men, of most skilled preceptors, of vast libraries; and it appears to me a truth that neither in Plato's time, or Cicero's, or Papinian's, was there ever such opportunity for studying as we see to-day; and henceforth it behooves none to show himself in society who is not well polished in the shop of Minerva. . . . So much is this so, that I, at the age where I am, have been constrained to learn Greek, which I had not despised like Cato, but had no leisure to acquire in my youth. And willingly I delight in the reading of Plutarch's *Morals*, the admirable *Dialogues* of Plato, the *Monuments* of Pausanias, and the *Antiquities* of Athenaeus, in waiting on the hour when it shall please God, my Creator, to call and command me to depart from this earth.

"Wherefore, my son, I admonish thee to employ thy youth to good profit both in studies and the virtues. Thou art at Paris, where the laudable examples of many brave men may stir thy mind, and hast likewise thy preceptor Epistemon, who by his lively and vocal teaching may instruct thee.

"I intend and will have it that thou learn the languages perfectly,—first of all the Greek, as Quintilian will have it, secondly the Latin, and then the Hebrew for the Holy Scripture's sake, and the Chaldean likewise; and that thou form thy style as to Greek in imitation of Plato, as to Latin, upon Cicero. Let there be no history

which thou shalt not have ready in thy memory: and to this end books of Cosmography will help thee much. Of the liberal arts of Geometry, Arithmetic and Music, I gave thee some taste when thou were yet little, about five or six years old. Follow them further, and of Astronomy learn all the laws; but I beg you to leave out the divinations of Astrology and the art of Lullius, as vanities and abuses. Of the Civil Law, I would have thee know the texts by heart and compare them with Philosophy.

"Now in matter of the knowledge of the works of Nature, I would have thee apply thyself attentively; so that there be neither sea, river, or fountain, of which thou dost not know the fishes; all the birds of the air, all the several kinds of trees and shrubs whether in forests or orchards; all the herbs of the earth, all the metals hidden in the belly of the abyss, the precious stones of the Orient and the South: let nothing be unknown to thee.

"Then carefully peruse the books of the Greek, Arabian and Latin physicians, not despising the Talmudists and Cabalists, and by frequent anatomies get thee a perfect knowledge of the other world [the Microcosm] which is Man. And for some hours of the day pay your respects to (commence à visiter) the Scriptures, first the New Testament in Greek and the Epistles of the Apostles, and next the Old Testament in Hebrew.

"In fine, let me see a bottomless pit of knowledge; for when you grow up and are a man, you will have to leave this tranquillity and repose of study, and learn arms and chivalry in order to defend my house, and succour our friends in all their needs against the assaults of evil-doers. And shortly I would have you try how much you have profitted, which you cannot do better than by maintaining publicly Theses and Conclusiones [8]

[8] Compare those of Pico della Mirandola, Vol. V, Chap. 1.

in every branch of knowledge against all comers, and by haunting the company of learned men.

"But, since, as the wise Solomon says, wisdom entereth not into an evil mind, and knowledge without conscience is but the ruin of the soul, it behooves thee to serve, love, and fear God, and in Him place all thy thoughts and all thy hope; and by Faith built up of charity be so linked to Him as never to be overthrown by sin. Suspect the abuses of the world. Set not thy heart on vanity, for this life passes, but the Word of God endureth forever. Be serviceable to all thy neighbors, and love them as thyself. Respect thy preceptors. Shun the company of people thou wouldst not resemble, and receive not in vain the graces which God has bestowed upon thee." [9]

Roger Bacon in the thirteenth century had no thought of forming his Greek and Latin styles on Plato and Cicero; but for the rest he advocated and tried to realize a similar program of study and enlightenment. No man in the sixteenth century felt more deeply than he the need of an adequate knowledge of the original tongues. And his ideal of knowledge, for every scholar if one will, was encyclopaedic. He had as strong a hate as Rabelais for scholastic obfuscations, and was quite as eager for the advancement of the physical sciences. But living when the interests of theology were absorbing, he found scant sympathy or collaboration. Only a lack of literary feeling for the classics, a lack of this sort of humanism, marked the difference between this thirteenth century Franciscan and sixteenth century scholars, like Rabelais.

From these general approvals and disapprovals shared by Rabelais with others of his time, one turns to the convictions more peculiar to him, which he expressed with power and temperamental vividness. One may note these

[9] Urquhart's translation with emendations.

factors of his individuality, although one cannot analyze convincingly this abounding imaginative and rational genius, this insatiate man who would reject no positive element of life.

Indeed this would seem to be Rabelais's broadest principle:—that is to say, the nature of man is good; his desires, his concupiscent lusts, his natural actions, are good, and when unthwarted, make for life and joy. It is all from God. He recognized this with week-day devoutness. But he was utterly untheological; and had no faith in any dogma of original sin. For him no subtle poison pervaded natural desire, making it at best venially sinful. He worried not at all about sin. But he voided the excrements of his wrath upon every drivelling sham which extended its obscene tentacles across the path of life. Yes, yes, says he to the imaginary reader who might reproach him for the fooleries he writes:—you are as much to blame for reading them; but both of us are better deserving of pardon than that

> "rabble of squint-minded fellows dissembling and counterfeit saints, demure lookers, hyprocrites, pretended zealots, tough friars, buskin-monks, and other such sects of men, who disguise themselves like masquers to deceive the world. . . . Fly from these men, abhor and hate them as much as I do, and upon my faith you will find yourself the better for it. And if you desire to be good Pantagruelists, that is to say, *to live in peace, joy, health, making yourselves always merry,* never trust those men that always peep out through a little hole."

The heart and soul of Rabelais are in this last passage of the second book, given here mainly in the translation, with which Cavalier Urquhart whiled away his captivity in the Tower of London. Cast out this starveling mummery, ye who would be followers of the good Pantagruel,

and live in peace, joy, health, making always good cheer. And this Pantagruelism is tolerant, kindly, and forgiving. For in all Pantagruelists there is that "by virtue whereof they will bear with anything that floweth from a good, free, and loyal heart." [10] There should be also the salt of Stoicism, as Rabelais puts it later in life, when he speaks of Pantagruelism as "a certain gaiety of spirit *cured* in contempt of chance and fortune." [11] With prodigious humor, wit, poetic imagination, Rabelais exemplified, illuminated, or befouled these principles, making them into an epic of royal giants, giants in the joy of mind and joy of lusty living, all one and whole and free from care and rancor. To this end he devotes his learning, his power of making borrowed stories live in a new pertinency; to this end he devotes his flood of words, and the images, the metaphors and similes, in which he thinks, and on which his theme moves as on pinions. No ideal beauty monopolizes any throne. Why not rather enthrone the belly—Gaster—whose voraciousness is the moving energy of life? Gaster is the master of arts, crafts and inventions, the mover of the progress of the world. Gaster indeed may symbolize this inspiring need and moving power as well as any other energy in that life whose first cry is Gargantua's: à boire! à boire! à boire! [12]

A gorgeous illustration of this benevolent love of joyous life, and contempt for whatever pinches or addles it, is the abbey of Theleme, with its name taken from the Greek θέλημα, meaning will or wish. The lusty monk who did such feats in the war against the tyrant Picrochole is to be rewarded by Gargantua. Sundry fat abbeys are offered him; he will have none of them, but will build one after his own mind. Gargantua bestows on him the country of

10 Bk. III Prologue, cf. an example of this tolerance Bk. III, Chapter II.
11 Bk. IV, Author's prologue.
12 Bk. I, Chapter VI. Cf. Bk. IV, Ch. LVII and XLI.

Theleme by the river Loire; and the two kindred spirits found the new order upon the full contrary of all established rules of monkhood. There shall be no wall about the abbey, seeing that all others are walled about; nor shall there by any clock or dial, since what dotage is it for anyone to direct his courses by the sound of a bell, and not rather by his own discretion; beautiful women shall not be kept out, but only the ugly, nor shall any vow bind monk or nun to stay, when they choose to depart. Inasmuch as other Orders take the vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, it was ordained that those who would should marry, and every one should be rich and live at liberty.

The abbey was built in grandeur and magnificence, with alabaster fountains and arcaded luxuries; with libraries in every tongue. Over its great gates were emblazoned verses forbidding bigots, hypocrites, dissemblers, attorneys, barristers, usurers, thieves, liars, drunkards, cannibals, to enter: but inviting all noble blades and brisk and handsome people, faithful expounders of the Scriptures, and lovely ladies, stately, proper, fair, and mirthful. The ladies had bowers and courts where they might bathe, shoot at the butts, and ride and fly their falcons, witness the tilting, and in fine, have every recreation suited to ladies of high birth. They slept in embroidered beds, their chambers hung with tapestry; perfumers waited on them in the mornings, and gave to each a casket of choice odours. They were apparelled to suit their pleasure, stockings of scarlet or crimson, slippers of red or violet, smocks of any color, coats of satin, damask, velvet, gowns of cloth of gold or satin: raiment to suit the seasons. The men were dressed as gallantly, and every morning received word of what the ladies were to wear, so that they might array themeslves in harmony.

> "Their life was spent not in laws, statutes or rules, but at their own free will and pleasure. They rose from bed when they thought good, drank, ate, worked, slept,

when the desire came to them. None did waken them, none constrained them either to drink or eat, nor to do any other thing: for so had Gargantua established it. The Rule of their order had but one clause: *Do what thou wilt.* Because persons that are free, well born, well educated, and accustomed to good company, have by nature an instinct and spur which prompts them to virtuous acts and withdraws them from vice. This they call honor. But the same people when they are oppressed and bound by base subjection and constraint, turn aside from the noble affections by which they were freely inclined to virtue, to shake off and break this bond of servitude. For we always attempt forbidden things, and covet what is denied us."

By this liberty, continues Rabelais, they entered into laudable emulation to do all of them what they saw did please one. So if one said let us drink, they would all drink, or let us go a-walking, they would all go, or a-hunting or a-hawking. So nobly were they taught that no man or woman of them but could read, write, sing, play upon musical instruments, speak five or six languages and compose verse and prose in them. Never were seen knights so brave and noble, or better skilled in fight on foot or horse; never ladies so proper and charming, or more apt in needle work and every act becoming a woman. And when it came to any man to leave the abbey, he took with him his ladylove and married her, and lived together in devoted love and happiness all the rest of their lives.

Rabelais's broad approvals and the butts of his satire and laughter bore not only on religion, but on the greedy or pettifogging affairs of men. Nothing could be funnier than his satire upon the windy irrelevancy of pleadings and arguments in court.[13] Yet what a creature his humor and toleration could build out of knavery, the character

[13] Bk. II, Chapter X-XIII.

of Panurge will testify, as wonderful a creation as Falstaff. The broad happy acceptance of life includes the cheerful scamp, let him but be clever and funny enough: and of course Rabelais's whole setting forth of life has always the permitted exaggerations of comedy and satire. But the comic does not exclude feeling which sometimes is as profound as it is large and beautiful. A Lilliputian may weep over a sparrow's death; but Pantagruel tells the tale of the strange announcement of the death of Pan, connects it with the tragedy on Calvary, and remains silent in contemplation. "A little while after we saw tears flowing from his eyes as big as ostrich eggs." Or again, one may find a seriousness in Rabelais's very comic picture of the underworld, where Emperors and Kings and Popes suffer ridiculous degradations, while philosophers foot it bravely. His own Kings, Grangousier and Gargantua, are humane in their statecraft, and long-suffering and forgiving, even when war is forced on them.

The religious or theological satire in the works of Rabelais raises the question whether he belonged to the Reform. We naturally tend to classify the incipiency of great movements by the clearer determinations of their maturity. Their vague beginnings may have carried little consciousness of the later purpose and resolve. Rabelais was no member of the Reform as its purport was stated by Calvin. The two men were repugnant and hostile. But Rabelais loved fact and verity; and as a penetrating scholar, he sought the source and despised the gloss. This was his way in studying the Civil Law, in which he was no tyro. He would cast aside the Commentators, and understand the *Pandects* for himself. So in religion, he was evangelical, looking back to the sure utterances of the Gospels and the contemporary testimony of the Epistles. His mind rejected the accretions of ecclesiasticism, which had no warrant in Christ's gospel. Greed and corruption were the working forces of this sacerdotal elaboration. Moreover, sacerdotal rules and prohibitions checked the flood and joyful play of

life. Rabelais was a man of the sixteenth century, his pulses throbbing with its living currents and with the red blood of his own lusty nature. Continence, abstinence, any lessening of life's play, were in themselves as abominable as the false prerogatives and monstrous hypocrisy, which they did not even cloak. In accordance both with his nature and his rational principles, he hated the jealous, empty theologians of the Sorbonne, the monks with their rules and dirty lies, and the greed of Rome which fleeced the nations absurdly. All these detestable things were the monstrous offspring of *Antiphysis,* malignantly brought forth to spite the Beauty and Harmony, which Physis, that is to say, Nature, gave birth to in the beginning.

From such matter of Rabelaisean contempt and disapproval the Rabelaisean wit and phantasy produced the mordant, yet side-splitting, chapters of the fourth book. After Pantagruel and his ship's company have passed by the Island of Shrovetide and have had their adventures in the land of Silly Sausages, they come to the Island of the *Papefigues,* whose people have been set upon and enslaved for insulting an image of the Pope adored by the *Papemaniacs.* Sailing on, the next day they reach the blessed islands of these same Maniacal Papists, where they are treated with hospitality and veneration because one of their company, even Panurge, once had seen God, that is to say, the God on earth, to wit, the Pope. One reads and learns what, save by him, unspeakable ridicule Rabelais could heap on papist observances and superstitions, and on their foundation, to wit, Papal Decretals, Clementinae Extravagantes, and the rest, and the miracles wrought even by their parchment, perhaps the crowning miracle of all being their subtile power of drawing gold to Rome. And then, as the good company sail on, frozen words, wafted from the cries of men battling in hyperborean regions, are heard as they melt in warmer air. Once more a landing is made on the Island of Gaster, the great belly-master

of all arts and sciences. Then the ship sails on, Pantagruel sleeping softly on his quarter deck with a Greek Heliodorus in his hand.

Chapter 5

Poetic Ennoblement of French Through Imitation of the Classics

IN THE YEAR 1549 APPEARED *La Défense et Illustration de la Langue Française,* a little book whose sails were filled with young enthusiasms. The author, Joachim du Bellay, "gentilhomme angevin," a youth of twenty-four, was aided and inspired by his friend Pierre de Ronsard, "gentilhomme vendomois," one year his senior. The two were destined to be the most memorable of the group of poets who dubbed themselves "La Pléiade." The name of Ronsard became as that of a prince in literature.

The *Défense* was a manifesto of a new school of French poetry; a precursory and necessarily rash attempt to set forth principles, if not a system. It contained inconsistencies, confusions, fallacies. Perhaps no critic has succeeded altogether in stating its doctrines for us. It was at all events a clarion pronunciamento in favor of French as the literary vehicle for Frenchmen. Rejecting the old forms of French verse, it defended the capacities of the mother tongue for the most glorious kinds of poetry. But the full resources of the mother tongue should be utilized, and above all, there was need to ennoble its literary forms through that veritable imitation of the Greek and Latin

Classics which lay in appropriating the truth and nobility presented in them.[1]

The author, or authors, of the *Défense* seem to start from the idea that the weakness or excellence of languages depends on the arbitrary will of men. If some, having been "plus curieusement regleés," become richer than others, this is not due to any inherent felicity, but solely to the "artifice et industrie des hommes." Hence the folly of those scholars who think French unsuited to letters and erudition. If our own tongue is less copious than Greek, the fault lies not in it, but in the rudenness of our ancestors who chose to leave to posterity examples, rather than precepts, of excellence. But—

> "Je n'estime pourtant nostre vulgaire, tel qu'il est maintenant, estre si vil et abject, comme le font ces ambitieux admirateurs des langues Greque et Latine. . . . Et qui voudra de bien pres y regarder, trouvera que nostre langue Francoise n'est si pauvre qu'elle ne puysse rendre fidelement ce qu'elle emprunte des autres; si infertile, qu'elle ne puysse produyre de soy quelque fruict de bonne invention, au moyen de l'industrie et diligence des cultiveurs d'icelle. . . ." [2]

Translations will not suffice to raise our language. The Romans did not omit this labor: but chiefly they enriched their tongue "immitant les meilleurs aucteurs Grecz, se transformant en eux, les devorant, et apres les avoir bien

[1] The modern, and especially the English, use of the word "Illustration" diverts attention from its meaning in the title to the *Défense*, where it means magnifying or rendering illustrious.

[2] "I do not, therefore, hold our vernacular, such as it is now, so vile and abject, as do these ambitious admirers of Greek and Latin. . . . And who would like to look closely, will find that our French language is not so poor that it cannot render faithfully that which it borrows from others, so infertile, that it cannot produce of itself some fruit of good invention, through the diligence and industry of its cultivators. . . ."

digerez, les convertissant en sang et nourriture." [3] And each selected the Greek author that best suited his own talents and the purpose which he had in view.

The chief point of art lies in this "imitation." Let him who would imitate understand that it is not so easy to copy (suivre) the virtues of a good author, and penetrate to his hidden qualities. It is profitless to imitate the old French authors; for that is but to present our language with what it has already. If Virgil and Cicero had been content to do this, Latin literature might have stopped with Ennius and Lucretius.

Yet translations are serviceable, especially of the science of the Greeks, so that all may study it, and not have to spend their time on the language. Indeed, that our men to-day are of less worth in science than the ancients, is chiefly owing to the study of the Greek and Latin. "For if the time which we consume in learning the said languages, had been devoted to the study of the Sciences, surely Nature is not become so sterile as not to have brought forth Platos and Aristotles in our own time." Of course Du Bellay had no thought of applying this rather two-edged argument to those who sought to excel in poetry and eloquence. He did not mean to depreciate the study of the ancient tongues; on the contrary, he maintains that no one can write well in French without a knowledge of Latin at least. But he pours ridicule on those "reblanchisseurs de murailles" who think to imitate the ancients in their own tongues, by copying their phrases, making poems on half lines of Virgil, and mouthing in Cicero's sentences. As if through such assembling one could rebuild an ancient edifice!

As for our old French poetry, continues Du Bellay in the second part of the *Défense,* William de Loris and Jean

[3] "imitating the best Greek authors, changing into them, devouring them, and after having digested them well, converting them into blood and nourishment."

de Meun are worth reading "pour y voir quasi comme une premiere imaige de la langue Francoise, venerable pour son antiquité." Coming nearer our own times, Jean le Maire de Belges seems the first to have *illustré* our tongue, enriching it with poetic words and forms still in use. As for our very best poets after him, I would say "qu'ilz ont bien ecrit, qu'ilz ont illustré notre Langue, que la France leur est obligeé; mais aussi diroy je bien qu'on pourroit trouver en nostre Langue . . . une forme de Poësie beaucoup plus exquise, laquele il faudroit chercher en ces vieux Grecz et Latins, non point és aucteurs Francoise."

To be sure, natural aptitude without learning can do more than "Doctrine sans le naturel." But learning is needed for the "amplification" of our tongue, which I am discussing, "and I advise those who aspire to this glory, to imitate the good authors, Greek and Roman, and indeed Italian, Spanish and others." Abandon the old French forms—"Rondeaux, Ballades, Vyrelaiz, Chantz Royaulx, Chansons, et autres telles episseries, qui corrumpent le goust de nostre Langue, et ne servent si non à porter temoinguaige de notre ignorance." Rather, imitate the epigrams of a Martial; the "pitoyables Elegies," of Ovid, or a Tibullus or Propertius, throwing in some of those ancient fables, which are no small ornament of poetry;—"chante moy ces Odes, incognues encor' de la Muse Francoyse. . . . Sonne moy ces beaux Sonnetz, non moins docte que plaisante invention Italienne." [4] Adopt also into the "famille Francoyse" those tripping hendecasyllables, as of a Catullus or a Pontanus. Thus Du Bellay holds up for imitation those exquisite Italians, Petrarch, Sannazaro, Pontanus, even as he would Horace, Ovid, and still greater classic writers.

As for subjects, let our poet choose the noble ones—

[4] —"sing to me these odes, as yet unknown to the French Muse. . . . Play me these beautiful Sonnets, not less learned than pleasant Italian inventions."

"quelque'un de ces beaux vieulx Romans Francoys, comme un Lancelot, un Tristan, ou autres; et en fay renaitre au monde un admirable Iliade, et laborieuse Eneide." [5] Let him take fragments from our old French Chronicles as Livy did from ancient annals; and build therefrom a noble history, with harangues like those of Thucydides and Sallust. Would that our age had "des Mecenes et des Augustes" for honor nourishes art; and science will not flourish when despised by all. Antiquity testifies that heroes need poets for their fame—"à la verité sans la divine Muse d'Homere, le mesme tumbeau qui couvroit le corps d'Achille eust aussi accablé son renom" [6] —a sentiment expressed in the twelfth century by John of Salisbury in the Prologue to his *Policraticus*.[7]

But Du Bellay is not too proud to advise his poet (especially when he is at work upon a long narrative poem) to enlarge and enliven his language with the terms of artisans and mechanics, as well as of the learned:—let him keep company with "mariniers, fondeurs, peintres, engraveurs et autres, savoir leurs inventions, les noms des matieres, des outils, et les termes usités en leurs arts et métiers, pour tirer de là ces belles comparaisons et vives descriptions de toutes choses." [8]

Du Bellay speaks of many other matters, of rhyme and rhythm, and the correct way of declaiming; and passes on to an eloquent appeal to Frenchmen to write in French; as Virgil and Cicero wrote in Latin, and Petrarch, Boc-

5 —"one of these beautiful old French Romances, such as Lancelot, Tristan, or others; and from them cause to be born again for the world an admirable Iliad, and a laborious Aeneid."

6 —"in truth, without Homer's diverse Muse, the very tomb which covered the body of Achilles would also have stiffled his renown"

7 The Mediaeval Mind, II, p. 141.

8 "Sailors, smelters, painters, engravers, and others, know their inventions, the names of the materials, the tools, and the terms they use in their art and work, to draw from them these beautiful comparisons and lively descriptions of all things."

caccio and Bembo wrote in Italian, however well they wrote in Latin too. On, ye Frenchmen, finally concludes the peroration: seize the antique treasures; make them your own. Recall the fashion of your Gallic Hercules, "tirant les peuples aprés lui par leurs oreilles avec une chaine attachée a sa langue!" [9]

The precepts, the tone and temper, the general tenor, of the *Défense* are strengthened and illuminated in the prefaces of Ronsard to his hopeless epic *La Franciade,* and in his *Abregé de l'art poetique Francois.* These later proclamations from the prince of poets are as sonorous and striking as anything uttered in the first enthusiasm of the *Défense*:—"C'est un crime de lèse-majesté d'abandonner le language de son pays, vivant et florissant, pour vouloir déterrer [disinter] je ne sais quelle cendre des anciens." [10]

But the grand illustration of whatever principles the *Défense* intended to set forth was afforded by the poetic work of Ronsard and those starlets of the Pléiade whose lights paled in his effulgence. Their work, moreover, makes a fuller disclosure of the influence working in their manifesto, and of the fact that while they and all the world regarded them as innovating spirits, they had their definite antecedents. The genius of Alexandrianism worked in them, the genius of that school of epigonic Greek poetry that had made its home in the Alexandria of the Ptolemies, a school which was learned, meticulous and *precieux,* and openly made form its idol.[11] Their young talents were also inspired by another and a different daintiness, that of

9 "pulling after him the nation by their ears by means of a chain attached to his tongue!"

10 "It is a crime of 'lèse-majesté' to abandon the living and flourishing language of one's country in order to unearth I do not know what ashes of the ancients." Printed in rather impossible small type in Laveaux's edition of the *Oeuvres de P. de Ronsard,* Tomes, III and VI.

11 The very name *Pléiade* had been applied to a group of seven poets in Alexandrian times.

Petrarch, or perhaps that of his followers, the Petrarchists. Du Bellay began with the imitative sensibility and affectation of that school, and later declared his revolt from it. Ronsard also passed on and through its atmosphere.

Still nearer influences touched the Pléiade, from French poets scarcely older than themselves, whose home was the flourishing and many-minded city of Lyons. Among these was Maurice Scève, whose *Délie* appeared only in 1544; also Pontus de Tyard, no Lyonnais by birth, but closely connected with that city. He was himself to be numbered with the Pléiade; as was Daurat, the admirable classical scholar, who revealed Aeschylus and Pindar and Homer to Ronsard and Baïf.[12]

Of the Pléiade, Du Bellay early won note by his *Défense* and the *Olive,* a book of imitated or occasionally translated sonnets. He was a sensitive soul. If his *Olive* showed little beyond apt imitation, his own sentiments and feelings came to self-expression in his *Regrets,* a few years later. From his twenty-eighth to his thirty-third year, he lived in Rome, in the train of his relative, Cardinal Du Bellay. There this rather melancholy soul suffered from homesickness, and tended to withdraw into spiritual seclusion on account of the same affliction of deafness, which had so much to do with driving Ronsard from the life of a courtier to the life of letters. Du Bellay was also stung, if not afflicted, by the meanness and poltroonery of ecclesiastical court life at Rome. His disgust, put frankly in his volume of *Regrets* published on his return to France, nearly cost him the countenance of his noble relative, the Cardinal.

But his stay in Rome had done much for him, especially as he had loved a veritable Roman girl. It brought him close to the realization of his humanistic dreams of the

12 For these influences on the Pléiade see Brunetière, *Hist. de la Lit. Française classique,* T. I. pp. 233-261. Besides those already named, Etienne Jodelle and Rémy Belleau make up the seven. The names change, however.

loves and life of the good old world; perhaps it lured him, against his principles, to write Latin hendecasyllables like Catullus. At all events, with such waves of feeling as had risen in him, his tongue, indeed his self, was loosed; and found expression in sonnets, which draw us to one who was so touchingly sympathetic with himself and the human yearnings symbolized in his own sensibilities. Of the humanist poets of his time and race he was the most personal, the most impulsively and naturally expressive.[13] This charming poet might have had much more to say had not death cut him short.

In the prodigious fame which was his while he lived the equal friend of kings, Ronsard was as fortunate as Petrarch. Their lots differed after death. For Petrarch then became the symbolic idol of the coming time; while Ronsard's fame was clipped by the unfriendly criticism of Malherbe. There was a curious coincidence in the failure of what each would like to have regarded as his masterpiece; for the fame of Petrarch's *Africa* existed only in anticipation and for a factitious moment just after the poet's death; and *La Franciade* fell moribund from the press in spite of Ronsard's enormous fame in 1572, when it apeared.

The effect, if not the recognized influence of Ronsard, endured. He is still one of the greatest names in French literature; and while he lived, he was the prince of poets. Prodigies were connected with him. His birth, which he himself alleged to have taken place on September the eleventh, 1524, the day of the battle of Pavia when Francis I was taken prisoner, was thought a providential glory compensating France for the disaster of that day.[14]

13 On Joachim Du Bellay see E. Faquet, *Seizième siècle;* as well as Brunetière, o. c. I, pp. 299-322.

14 The poet may have been born on September 11th, 1524. The absurdity of the statement in the text, which goes back to Binet, his friend and biographer, lies in the fact that the battle of Pavia

, Pierre de Ronsard came of good family, his father Louis having been so highly regarded by royalty that he was sent to Spain in charge of the two children of Francis I, who on the King's liberation were given as hostages for the performance of the Treaty of Madrid. Louis de Ronsard had some taste for letters, but esteeming a career at court more highly, he placed his son as page in the household of the dauphin, in 1536, when the lad was about eleven years old. Soon the dauphin died, and Ronsard was passed on to the service of his younger brother, Charles, Duke of Orleans. Next he was sent to Scotland in the train of the King's daughter, married to James Stuart. She did not live long, and Ronsard, still little more than a child, returned to the service of the Duke. His biographers report that he soon excelled his fellows in courtly and martial accomplishments; and indeed he was a graceful, charming youth. He was already fond of poetry. Once more he was transferred to the service of another royal master, Henry, now the dauphin, and destined to become king as Henry II, and to die young, wounded by the lance of Montgomery in a tournament.

Sundry voyages completed the education and widened the horizon of the young page. But he became afflicted with deafness, which strengthened his plea to be allowed to devote himself to letters, or as his prudent father would have it, to the Church. The Church faded from Ronsard's view on his father's death in 1544, which removed the only obstacle to a literary life.

The young man had already found his teacher in Dorat (or Daurat) who soon was made head of the Collège de Coqueret. There Ronsard became fully and devotedly his scholar, along with Baïf, still a boy. Others who were to belong to the Pléiade came, among them Du Bellay, in

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ook place February 24th, 1525!! *La vie de P. de Ronsard* by Claude Binet (1586), is short and interesting. There is a critical edition by Paul Laumonier (Paris, 1909).

1549, whom Ronsard had met on a journey from Poictiers to Paris. Binet, Ronsard's later very humble friend and biographer, calls Dorat "la source de la fontaine," from which all this band of poets drank of the "eaux Pieriennes." Under him, (with some instruction from Tournèbe as well) Ronsard gained a penetrating knowledge of the classical Greek poetry, and equipped himself from the Latin arsenal as well. He studied Homer; he studied the great Greek tragedies; he gave himself to Pindar. With equal zest he studied the Alexandrians, Theocritus, Callimachus, Apollonius Rhodius, Aratus. When Henri Estienne published his *Anacreon* in 1554, Ronsard gave himself with delight to those sweet verses which we recognize as "Anacreontea," but not as the composition of the Teian master. The Pléiade of course accepted them as from him, and were delighted to find a classic so sweetly to their taste. Ronsard discovered that the torrents of Pindar were rather rough and difficult:

"Anacréon me plait, le doux Anacréon." [15]

And he would seem to have turned from Pindar to these smoother forms of verse and feeling. Doubtless one influence and then another might thrust itself into his mood, and take form beneath his facile pen. His mind, his nature, was so thoroughly impregnated with classic reading, that only under drastic contemporary impulsion (as in his *Discours des Miseres de ce Temps*) could he write altogether from himself. Moreover, he changed and rearranged his poems so constantly throughout his life, that the critic moves on unsafe ground in attempting to arrange his work chronologically, and assign to one period the inspiration of one classic poet, and to another period the dominant influence of another. He absorbed the influence of the Latin poets quite as freely as the Greek, and rather more unconsciously. He owed great debts to Virgil always, and

15 "Anacreon I'm fond of, sweet Anacreon."

most dreadfully in *La Franciade*. Its first four books (all that he composed) so exhausted the episodes of the *Aeneid,* that one wonders with what material he could have carried his unhappy epic any further. Horace, and the Horatian forms also influenced him constantly; and perhaps it was from the good sense of Horace (which had kept *him* from essaying Pindaric strains) that Ronsard drew a like reluctance in the end.

The classics, Latin, Greek, including the Alexandrians, were not the only sources of his inspiration. Petrarch was an alluring mode and fashion. His lovely Italian sonnets and *canzoni* had almost classical authority. They furnished that attractive preciosity of love which fascinated these French poets of the sixteenth century. Ronsard copied Petrarch in sentiment and expression in his early "Amours à Cassandre." Afterwards he seems to have passed on and through his influence, as a more substantial body passes through a nebula.

He had devoted seven years to Greek and Latin, and to the composition of poems under classic inspiration, when in 1550 he published his first volume of *Odes*. At once his fame leaped heavenward. Friend and foe alike saw in him the chief of the band whose war cry had been the *Défense* of the year before. His fame and fortunes reached their zenith through the next ten years; and he could say to all other poets of the realm:

Vous êtes mes sujets, et je suis votre roi.[16]

So long as he lived, his royal place was not seriously threatened. If his material fortunes were less splendid than his reputation, they still enabled him to live in the enjoyment of courtly pleasures and the comforts of town and country, until his death in 1585. His art was the mistress of his most strenuous devotions. His towering consciousness of his position and deserts was chequered by

16 "You are my subjects, and I am your king."

touches of an inner humility. In fact, his nature was rather timid and retiring. Rarely he mingled in the strife of pens and swords, which was desolating France. To prove his orthodoxy and evince his patriotism, he wrote his *Discours des Miseres de ce Temps,* against the reformed and now Calvinized religion; which his love of France, his love of pleasure, his love of letters, combined to impel him to detest. In him, humanism emphatically rejected the Reform. Catholic in his professions and beliefs, his life was pagan. He passed his days in the realization of pagan sentiments and the incidents of pagan mythology. But in his long last illness, he ended his life piously.

Ronsard's natural talents were large and various. His poetic accomplishment was diverse and immense. Much of it was of a high order. He accepted the practice of the ancients as the embodiment of poetic principles, which he would re-incorporate, and cause to live again, in French verse. At his best, he did most nobly reflect in his poetry the training and discipline, and the ennoblement of language, form, and conception, which classical studies graft upon a fine poetic talent. When not at his best, he imitated the classics stiffly and pedantically, deducing from their works principles having no living or universal application; and incorporating in his poetry classical material which had not been assimilated and recast in his own mind and temperament. He delighted to fill, or adorn, and *intriguer* his verse with obscure mythological allusions. He could be pedantic, prolix, and guilty of false emphasis.[17] Hating the commonplace, he strove, and often with brilliant success, to ennoble his French vehicle—verse, words,

[17] In his occasional flattery, Ronsard may fall into bathos, as in his sonnet to Robert Garnier, "prince des tragiques," saying that if Bacchus should descend to Hades now, he would bring back with him, not Aeschylus, but Garnier. *Sonnets devers,* LXXXI, *Oeuvres,* Tome V, p. 354. Again, on the death of Charles IX (!!) he declared: "La France n'estoit pas ny digne de l'avoir, ny de porter ses pas." *Epitaphes, Oeuvres,* Tome VII, p. 170.

forms of expression, epithets. He loved splendid and striking images, despising those which were conventional and added nothing to the idea.

A marvellous artist in metre and rhythm, he remodelled and re-established the "Alexandrian" line of twelve or thirteen syllables. This mightiest of French lines was a creature of the Middle Ages; but had fallen into neglect. Under the influence of his classical training and the impregnation of his mind with the Greek and Latin hexameter, Ronsard perfected it, restored it to its place of primacy, and exemplified its adequacy.[18] He introduced as well a number of other verse-forms previously used by French poets, and fashioned others for himself. He would fain have composed the music for his verse, as Pindar did so naturally. Here he failed. But to find his equal in the abundance and variety of his verse, invention or adaptation, one must look back of French verse altogether, to the fecund genius for Latin verse-forms of an Adam of St. Victor or an Abaelard.[19] Ronsard had a fine sense of the harmony which should exist between rhythm and thought; a great talent for the adjustment of verse-forms to the thought and sentiment of the poem.

Five books of *Odes,* manifold in theme, and following Pindaric, Horatian, or Anacreontic models; six or seven books of *Amours,* some eight thousand lines; two books of *Hymnes,* epic and lyric recitals; then other books of *Poèmes,* of *Elegies,* of *Epigrammes,* of *Epitaphes,* of *Mascarades,* of *Discours* over his Time's miseries, and a still-

18 "Les Alexandrins tiennent la place en nostre langue, telle que les vers heroïques entre les Grecs et Latins, lesquels sont composez de douze à treize syllables, les masculins de douze, les foeminins de treize, et ont tousjours leur repos sur la sixiesme syllable." ("Alexandrines have that place in our language which heroic verse had among the Greeks and Latins; that verse which is composed of twelve or thirteen syllables, the masculine of twelve, the feminine of thirteen, and always came to a rest in the sixth syllable.") Ronsard, *Abregè de l' Art Poetique François.*

19 Cf. The Mediaeval Mind, II, Chapter XXXIII.

born Epic—was not this an unexampled mass for one man to have achieved? [20] Succeeding poets would scarcely go beyond either Ronsard's range of theme or formal modelling. And through it all, if there was endless borrowing, there was also much real expression of a master-poet's personality, of his own loves and feelings, even thoughts. He expressed a genuine love of nature, of the country, in his *Eclogues* and in his poems on his forest of Gâtine. Epic qualities were shown, not in his hopeless *Franciade,* but in many of his *Odes* and *Hymnes.* In the best of these last, his long discipline of "imitation" of the classics has become veritable assimilation, is transformed into power and inspiration of his own,—into the self-expression of a poet.[21]

The *Roman de la Rose,* especially that sophisticated longer portion written by De Meun, incorporated much substance from the antique philosophy and literature, but was little affected by classic form. It was not artistic quality that the author had sought in his reading. The Pléiade on the other hand—Ronsard above the rest—strove to gain artistic quality, beauty, ennoblement of form, from a more thorough and direct classical study. Especially they were keen Greek scholars; and had read Homer, Pindar, and the Tragedians, though they may have found the very beautiful Theocritus and other Alexandrians quite as congenial to their taste. A taste for Petrarch, for Sannazaro, for Bembo, and other Italian literati,

20 See Brunetière, o. c., I, pp. 323, 396.

21 For example in the Hymn to Death, the last in Bk. II, (*Oeuvres,* Tome IV, p. 364).

Ronsard has been so excellently analyzed and criticised by the French masters of criticism, that a foreigner who will always find difficulty in appreciating the finer points of French poetry, may leave to them the literary criticism of Ronsard. See particularly, Brunetière in his *Hist. de la Lit. franc. classique,* Vol. I; E. Faguet, in his Seizième Siècle, *Etudes littéraires* and J. J. Jusserand's *Ronsard.*

who also cared for form supremely, further incited them to the study of form in these Alexandrians, or in Horace, Tibullus and Catullus; all of whom exemplified not merely form, but the palpable endeavor for it. Those Alexandrians and Latins cared for art, seeking even its highest *ars celare artem.*

So the Pléiade represent the love of artistic beauty very consciously. Not that there had been an utter neglect of it before them. What good workman lacks this love? But they emblazoned it, proclaimed it, felt it as an inspiration throughout their entire poetic consciousness. And more than all others who had preceded them, they left it as a rich legacy for future generations of French poets.

Ronsard had foolish friends and degenerate imitators. The over-learned Baïf pursued an impossible idea of his own, that of writing French metrically. The result was abhorrent; yet he was not alone in his idea. Another poet, Philippe Desportes, with charm and facile skill, was ignoble in thought and theme,—a sheer court poet. Perhaps Mathurin Regnier (1573-1613) was the best of these epigoni. On the other hand, there were adherents of the Reformed Religion, who were poets and looked on Ronsard as their chief. Among them, the tedious Du Bartas returned to sacred themes. His poetry gained vogue in Germany, where, later, Goethe admired it. He may possibly have influenced Milton.

Agrippa D'Aubigné (1551-1630) was a far more interesting personality. Learned in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, he was consecrated in boyhood by his father to the cause of the Reform, with maledictions on his head if he should ever blanch. There was no need of them. At the age of sixteen, after his father's death, he escaped by a window at night, barefooted, in his shirt, to hurry after a passing troop of horse. Thus he hurled himself into the wars of religion, and thereafter, in battles, sieges, skirmishes and single combats, fought wherever fighting could be had. Save when sick or wounded or in prison, his sword was

rarely laid aside, till the conversion of his great master Henry IV to Catholicism forced peace upon this devoted and outspoken follower. He had always had the habit of writing; he was a pamphleteer as well as soldier, producing satires, diatribes, and poems constantly. He would not follow Henry into the Roman church, and retired to his government of Saintonge. Verses which he had composed, some of them literally in the saddle, some of them when in fever from wounds, he now put together in his still protesting, still militant *Tragiques*. He never gave up the cause of the Reform; and cursed his son for abandoning it. Long after Henry's death, always contending with words or arms, d'Aubigné found refuge in Geneva. Four times had he been condemned to death! Militant, active to the end, he induced Berne and other Swiss cities to construct mural fortifications which he himself designed. He remarried when over seventy, and died an octogenarian. He was the grandfather of Madame de Maintenon.

He left a mass of prose and verse; a *Histoire universelle* of his times; *Meditations* on the Psalms; satires in the form of elaborate prose fictions; political discourses; odes, sonnets, poems of gallantry; for like his master Henry, though less irrational in love, this Cavalier of the Reform sighed for the ladies not infrequently. But his chief work, *Les Tragiques* in angry Alexandrians, is a tableau of the miseries of the time. Into it he poured his wrath at the evil turn of things; while scriptural incident and mythological allusion jostled each other in the almost epic outcry of this Huguenot, swordsman, councillor, scholar, poet, indomitable soul.

Chapter 6

Self-Expression Through Translation and Appropriation: Amyot, Bodin, Montaigne

Not only in Ronsard and his Pléiade, but in others who, like him, were scholars and also Frenchmen, one observes a duel interlocked phenomenon or process, very noticeable through the sixteenth century. It is this: imitation or appropriation of intellectual material from the antique culture combines with the ripening French mind and personality, promotes its development, and facilitates and enriches its self-expression. This duel process may present the appearance of conflict between the classical or antique influence and the native French faculties, which will also make use of contemporary foreign strains from Italy or Germany, and to some extent fall under their influence. Some Frenchmen will accept opinions and sentiments straight from the classics; but in general such was the organic power of sixteenth century life in France, that the antique influence becomes a contribution to its advance. The French mind and personality emerges, asserts itself, gains strength and even distinctness from the study and use and assimilation of the ancient material.

I

The Pléiade made a literary and stylistic use of the contents of Greek and Latin poems and of the lessons

to be drawn from their form and manner of composition. It is interesting to consider other Frenchmen, publicists and moralists, who make a different use of different antique material, and would distil from it the wisdom of life which it so notably contained. One may observe in the first place the more impersonal phases of the appropriation of the antique by the genius or vigor of the French race or people, especially in that most palpable expression of the race, its language. This will illustrate plainly both sides of the dual process. There is the obvious competition between the French and Latin languages. French is used in daily life, also in poetry. But Latin is in possession of the sphere of university instruction and of all branches of learning, of theology and religion, of philosophy and mathematics, of law and medicine. French is supposed to be unfit for these higher branches. Yet the advocates of French not only assert its capabilities, but put their mother tongue to school; instructing and amplifying it from the example and resources of its own ancient mother, Latin, with some light as well from its newly adopted foster-father, Greek. Under classical tuition this same French tongue, far from becoming Latin, asserts itself with mounting energy and enlarging capacities, and presses its claims to universal use by Frenchmen, even for the highest literary and intellectual purposes.

For the victory of French, prejudice had to be overcome, and the rude tongue made fit for those higher uses. In the fourteenth century scholars introduced Latin words into the French vernacular; through the fifteenth, this was carried on diligently by greater numbers. Yet in the sixteenth century much had still to be done to enlarge and ennoble the French language. So thought Du Bellay and Ronsard as well as Henry Estienne and others who were none the less convinced that French was the true literary vehicle for Frenchmen. Along different paths, they directed their efforts to this common end.

In spite of men's devotion to the classics, the necessity

of using French became more imperative. As the social and intellectual life of court and town progressed, ways of thinking and the contents of thought assumed distinctive character, and for that reason would less readily flow in the thought-forms of antiquity, less easily find expression in Latin. This difficulty was aggravated by the efforts of the stricter sort of scholars to purify contemporary Latin and bring it back to classical correctness. For thereby they made it still less suitable for current thinking. One bears in mind that the Romance tongues originally had not developed from the Latin of Cicero and Quintilian, but from the vulgar Latin of the people, especially the peoples of the Provinces. Hence classical Latin, with its suspended thought and different structural articulation, was always alien to the current expression of the current thought of the so-called "Latin Countries" of Europe.

The progress of thinking in the sixteenth century, continuing the like mediaeval tendency, could not but draw away from Latin. And whenever any branch of science advanced beyond the data supplied from ancient sources, it would tend to pass further from the antique, and would less naturally conform to the antique vehicle of expression: it would more vigorously demand expression in a vernacular language vitally corresponding with its own progressing ways of thinking. Still for a century or two, scholars, philosophers, physicists might write in Latin, deeming it a more satisfactory medium, or in order that their works might be read abroad. But how inevitably any such practice was doomed to cease, may be plainly seen by looking forward through the growth of the sciences in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, even to our own time. The different sciences still continue to derive or devise numberless special terms out of cuttings and combinations of Latin and Greek words. But it would now be a stupid *tour de force* to compose a scientific work in Latin; for the people who evolved that language as a living tongue did not have the conceptions or turns of

thought which the modern author wishes to express. In the sixteenth century, the substance of all the sciences was largely drawn from the antique. Yet thought did not run in antique conduits; but already demanded more closely fitting forms of expression.

A far more obvious reason for using French was that it was the mother tongue, understood by all, and spontaneously used by all, and not learned through years of study. Reasons of State might also intervene, as when in 1539 a royal decree directed that henceforth all proceedings before magistrates should be in French, a decree which was enforced even in Provence. G. Tory in his *Champfleury* published in 1529, and before him, Claude de Seyssel in the preface to his translation of Justin, dedicated to Louis XII, spoke ardently for French, and made good use of the political arguments from the example of the Romans, who insisted on the official use of Latin throughout their conquered provinces. The crown was the pulse of France; and as was natural, its influence through the reigns of Louis XII, Francis I, and their successors was on the side of French.

Starting from the general fact that in the first part of the sixteenth century, Latin was used at the University (except in the primary classes), as well as in all the sciences and learned professions, one may observe the steps by which French intruded upon its stately mother, in one province after another.[1]

A plea for the use of French in education was made by the jurist, Jean Bodin, in 1559; but Ramus, boldest of educational innovators, was already using French effectively, though not exclusively, at his college in the Paris University. Yet Latin held its own tenaciously; and, if we turn from education to the Catholic Church, we find

[1] For the following sketch I have relied on F. Brunot, "La langue au XVI Siècle," in Vol. III of Petit de Julleville. *Hist. de la langue et de la littérature Française.*

the liturgy in Latin even to our own day. As for the Scriptures, Erasmus had argued in favor of putting them before the people: and a few years later Luther followed with his powerful German translation (1522). The next year appeared Lefèvre's translation of the New Testament, approved by the delicate reformer Bishop Briçonnet and even by King Francis, but at once hateful to the Sorbonne. The more radical reformers, like the impetuous Farel, used French in writing and of course in preaching before the year 1541, when Calvin startled the theological rookeries by publishing the French translation of his *Institute*. One may say that from the middle of the century, French became the regular language of the Reformed Church wherever French was spoken; and in order to meet the reformers before the nobility and people, Catholic advocates also resorted to the vernacular when necessary.

Looking to the sciences and professions, we find that, from the opening of the century, oral surgical instruction was given in French, because of the ignorance of the would-be practitioners. A number of French surgical treatises were in use when the great Parè [2] entered on his career of surgical practice and teaching. His instruction was carried on in French, and in French were written his *Methode de traicter les playes faictes par harquebutes* (1545), and his *Traité sur la peste* (1568). Likewise in spite of many conservative protests, treatises upon the art of medicine were largely written in French. Through the latter part of the century, with increasing frequency, French text-books were composed in Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy, Cosmography and Geography. Chemistry, or rather alchemy, and physics were followed rather in Latin treatises or translations from the Greek or Latin. But the genial observer of nature, Bernard Palissy,[3] trou-

2 See Book 5, Chap. 3.
3 See Book 5, Chap. 4.

bled himself as little as possible with the learned tongues. He was born about 1510 and died in prison, a martyr to his religious convictions, about 1589. His observations upon the action of the sea, upon fossils, and his discoveries as to enamels as well as agriculture, he put in an individual and taking French. Naturally, as it were, the fruits of experiment and actual observation were put in the living language, a practice continued by Olivier de Serres, who in his *Théâtre d'agriculture et mesnage des champs* placed the translated precepts of ancient writers along with the results of his own experience.

Histories, usually composed with a moral or political purpose, were for the most part written in French; though unfortunately the chief historian of the second half of the century, De Thou, decided to write his *Historia mei temporis* in Latin. On the other hand Étienne Pasquier, as patriotic as he was erudite, stanchly advocated French, and wrote in that language his quite famous *Recherches de la France*. From history one passes over to rhetoric and poetry, where Du Bellay, in the *Défense,* spoken of in the last chapter, expresses in his way thoughts and hopes which men of his time or before him had either expressed or put in practice.

Along with the endeavor to use French for these higher purposes of education, science and literature, went the efforts of many to improve the language, as we have noticed for example with Robert and Henry Estienne, and with the Pléiade. Before them Jacques Dubois had made a sorry attempt to purify his mother tongue, which he regarded as a decayed Latin, by endeavoring to re-Latinize it. But saner and greater men, like the Estiennes, recognized the sovereign authority of usage. Montaigne pointed out that the "beaux espris" raise their mother tongue less by verbal inventions than through the noble uses to which

they put the language, giving weight and dignity and further meaning to the words they find in it.[4]

II

From the close of the fifteenth century, the desire for access to the antique literature created a demand for translations; and the work of the translator becomes an important feature of the active-minded life of the time. Many Latin classics were translated, the popular Italian authors, as well as certain Spanish books. The translation of the Greek classics was undertaken, at first from Latin versions, since very few Frenchmen in the early decades of the sixteenth century knew enough Greek to translate directly. This was improved upon in the next generation, when Greek scholarship had made greater progress,—the generation of Henry Estienne, Danès, Dorat, Tournébe and Ronsard, the generation also of Amyot, the translator of Plutarch's *Lives* and *Morals*.

Translations of the classics corresponded with a desire among tolerably educated people to read them. They implied a tacit recognition by the translator and his audience that the French language was fit to express the antique thought. Making them was a quasi self-assertion, a claim of victory for the French tongue. The use of French to translate the round of ancient thought and circumstance enriched the language with new words and concepts, and gave it new flexibility and capacity. Moreover, the reading and enjoyment of the translations meant a more general reception of Greek and Roman thoughts; it meant the assimilation of such, their reapplication under sixteenth century conditions, and their partial transformation in the French temperament and acceptance of life. This is exemplified in the work of Amyot.

Born of lowly parentage, he was endowed with the de-

[4] *Essais*, Liv. III, 5.

sire and aptitude for learning, and with the faculty of making his learning acceptable in high places. Somehow he won his education, the best that Paris could give, under the royal professors Toussain and Danès. They recommended him to that tutelary goddess of learning, Marguerite of Navarre, who placed him in a chair of Greek and Latin at the University of Bourges. His translation of the Greek romances *Daphnis and Chloe* and *Theagenes and Chariclea* won the gift of a rich abbey from Francis I. Either the King, or Amyot's affinity with the old author, commanded him to translate Plutarch. The selection was a stroke of fortune or of genius. Blessed with an income and abundant leisure, he set forth on a delightful scholar's pilgrimage to Italy. The year may have been 1547, and he was about thirty-five. He made long stays in Venice and Rome, studying, searching for manuscripts, incidentally winning new patrons. In 1554 he published a translation of Diodorus Siculus, a manuscript of whose work he had discovered. Before then, however, he was living with Plutarch, translating his *Lives,* entering upon his *Morals,* which he translated afterwards. He lived in Plutarch, and Plutarch was to live again in him.

Plutarch was indeed a world, and a world wherein a Frenchman of the sixteenth century could readily find himself at home. For the man who amid the lengthening shadows of the antique world, passed his years between Chaeroneia and Rome, saw his ancient worthies through human cosmopolitan eyes, and presented them in human guise with human attributes; so that they could be admired and understood by humane-minded men in centuries to come. His writings were an encyclopaedia of antique humanity, affording instruction, precept, example, countenance or warning, for any man in any situation.

Homo sum; humani nil a me alienum puto—if Plutarch did not quote this Menander-Terence line, he exemplified it at its very best. For he found nothing alien from him in the human story, that could illumine and illustrate and

each. Amyot became his mirror, his *alter ego,* and yet remained a Frenchman of the sixteenth century. His translation even carried further the universalizing of the encyclopaedia of antique man. He was a true translator, who rendered his original truly. He did not change Plutrach's illustrious ones to sixteenth century Frenchmen, nor travesty the ancient world. But with penetrating sympathy he softened recalcitrant terms and in apt French phrase made the old names and incidents and situations live again.

This was necessarily a modernizing and universalizing. It was a presentation of Plutarch's heroes not as Frenchmen, but in such way that Frenchmen could understand them, and see the underlying human identity between Greeks and Romans and themselves. These personages did not cease to be Greeks and Romans because they were made to show palpably the same traits which Frenchmen possessed, by virtue of a common humanity. Nor did their setting cease to be antique because retouched with the likenesses or analogies pervading human circumstance.

Even here the splendid result was not Plutarch's alone —not alone the work of the man of Chaeroneia. It was also the product of Amyot's undertsanding of life, and of the capacities of the French language and Amyot's faculty of managing and expanding it so as to render the antique incidents and thoughts. Thus these translations marked Amyot's French assimilation and presentation of Plutarch's world, and became an expression of the translator's mind.

Amyot knew that he was presenting the universal human which was Plutarch. The expressions of his lengthy prefatory "aux lecteurs" are quite clear. Plutarch is history, and "l'histoire est à la verité le tresor de la vie humaine." [5] It is the great school—"une regle et instruction certaine, qui par examples du passé nous enseigne à juger du present, et à prevoir l'advenir, à fin que nous sçachions ce que

[5] "history is in truth the treasure of human life."

nous devons suyvre ou appeter, et qu'il nous faut fuir et eviter." [6] As in a picture, it sets before our eyes

> "les choses dignes de memoire, qu'anciennement ont faictes les puissants peuples, les roys, et princes magnanimes, les sages gouverneurs, et vaillans capitaines, et personnes marquées de quelque notable qualité, nous representant les moeurs des nations estrangeres, les loix et coustumes anciennes, les desseings des hommes particuliers, leurs conseils et enterprises, les moyens qu'ilz ont tenus pour parvenir, et leurs deportemens, quand ils sont parvenus aux plus hauts, ou bien qu'ilz ont esté dejettez au plus bas degrez de la fortune." [7]

The man who has read these histories will encounter no chance of peace or war in which he will not find their counsel apt and prudent, to guide his choice and action, moderate his elation in prosperity and sustain him in adversity. History with its examples is a better teacher than books of moral philosophy with their precepts.[8]

> "Brief . . . la lecture des histoires est une eschole de prudence, que l'homme se forme en son entendement, en considerant meurement l'estat du monde qui a esté par le passé, et observant diligemment par quelles loix, quelles moeurs et quelle discipline, les empires, roy-

[6] —"a sure rule and lesson, which through examples of the past teach us to judge of the present and to foresee the future, so that we may know that which we must follow or reach for, and that which we must free from and avoid."

[7] "the things worthy of remembrance, which in times past made powerful peoples, kings, and magnanimous princes, wise governors and valiant captains, and those persons noted for an outstanding quality, showing us the mores of foreign lands, the old customs and laws, the designs of individual men, their counsel and enterprises, the means they used to reach them, and their behavior once they reached the highest or were thrown to the lowest fortunes."

[8] The last thought is in Aquinas's *Summa,* and so is doubtless Aristotelian.

aumes et seigneuries se sont jadis premierement establies, et depuis maintenues et grandies, ou au contraire changées, diminuées et perdues." [9]

Such is history's obvious function; and most necessary for princes and people in high station, giving them instruction without flattery, which those they live with will not give them. Beyond this, what pleasure does it give us, moving with fear and hope and joy, through pains and dangers not our own! Happiness and wonder come upon us as we view in this eloquent picture "les cas humains representez au vif, et les variables accidens que le vieillesse du temps a produits dès et depuis l'origine du monde." A spectacle indeed, amazing and most intimate as well: *les cas humains,* the human incidents, which might have been and still may be ours: indeed which certainly are ours as well as theirs on whom they fell; for nothing that is human is not ours.

We may leave our Amyot with his Plutarch and ours. In him Plutarch lived again, delighting and expanding the natures of Frenchmen and Englishmen through generations. Montaigne seems to have become Montaigne through Amyot; from North's English version of him spring Shakespeare's *Coriolanus, Julius Caesar, Antony and Cleopatra.* The fortunes of his book were wonderful; his own were prosperous and troubled. He was the preceptor of two princes, who became Charles IX and Henri III of France. He was made grand almoner of France, and bishop of Auxerre. Troubles came upon him from the clergy of his diocese. He was in danger of assassination; he may have been excommunicated; at least he was compelled to beg

9 "In brief . . . reading histories is a school of prudence, which man forms in his understanding, through the ripe consideration of the state of the world such as it was in the past, and by diligently observing through which laws, mores, and discipline empires, kingdoms, and dominions were originally established, and since kept up and enlarged, or on the contrary, changed, diminished and lost."

for absolution. He died in 1593 eighty years old,—loved by future generations.

III

How a French mind—that of a publicist—could make use of antique (and also mediaeval!) thought, and also express itself with vigor and originality, is shown in Jean Bodin, a native of Angers, born in 1530 and dying in 1596. Although living through the bitterest periods of the Wars of Religion, he rose above the atmosphere of strife, and viewed human institutions with admirable intelligence—sometimes.[10] His *Six livres de la Republique* appeared in 1576. Their purpose was to bring the experience of mankind, shown by the histories of ancient and modern peoples, to bear upon the questions of the nature of the State and the best forms of government and law. Bodin would apply the argument of facts, of universal experience. "La philosophie mourrait d'inanition au milieu de ses preceptes, si elle ne les vivifiait par l'historie," [11] he says in words recalling Amyot. Being a magistrate and jurist, he would also find in history, the principles of jurisprudence. For himself, he will decide his main problem in favor of a law-abiding but absolute hereditary monarchy.

The *Republique* was the fruit of enormous reading and assembling of evidence; its matter was well ordered to the purpose of the author's arguments. All parts of the organism of the State were presented more largely and systematically than by any previous writer, and so the sum of

10 "Jean Bodin est un bon autheur de nostre temps, et accompagné de beaucoup plus de judgement que la tourbe des escrivailleurs de son siècle, et merite qu'on le judge et considere." "Jean Bodin is a good author of our times, having much more judgment than the rabble of so-called writers of this century, and he deserves to be judged and considered." Montaigne, *Essais*, II, XXXII.

11 "Philosophy would die of starvation in the midst of its concepts, if it did not quicken them through history,"

this great matter was laid before the reading French public. The work was translated at once into Latin, that it might reach an international audience. Ten years before, Bodin had composed in Latin a preliminary, but weighty work, entitled: *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem.*

The details of Bodin's argument are beyond the present purpose. Yet it is interesting to observe how his vigorous mind moved with apparent independence and at the same time was enthralled by its inheritance and environment. Bodin had read Plato's *Republic* and had studied the *Politics* of Aristotle. Yet in his conception of the State, he agrees with neither. For he conceives the State to consist in the control of a number of *ménages,* (households), and of that which is common to them (qui leur est commun), by the sovereign power. He reasons from the analogy of the family, which consists in the control by its head of what is common to its members.

Besides his encyclopaedic marshalling of evidence, perhaps his most striking contribution to a knowledge of the factors of the human story was his recognition of the effect of climate upon racial development, of the rôle of environment in the advance or retrogression of the faculties and fortunes of a people. In this and in other matters,[12] he was the forerunner of later publicists, above all of Montesquieu.

So Bodin could think with originality, handle masterfully the ancient thought, and accept or depart from it, for better or worse, according to the requirements of his argument. But,—and the "but" is a very large one—he had other sides. He was held by the current superstitions of his time, and even by its cruelty. He believed in sorcery, and wrote a book entitled *Démonomanie des Sorciers.* Again he supported himself upon experience! As a magistrate, he had conducted trials, and knew the facts, which

12 As in his protest against slavery, and his philosophic approval of religious toleration.

had been judicially proved! He would stand by the decisions of tribunals, which condemned witch or sorcerer upon the facts! Alas! these facts were but a proof that this large-minded man was held by the superstitions of his own time, and of the prior centuries, including antiquity. His considerations upon the effect of climates were made half foolish by his acceptance of astrology, of planetary influence, beliefs which had renewed their vigor with the revival of antique letters! [13]

IV

The Essays of Montaigne [14] are the most striking example of the emergence of an ensemble of personal opinion, and still more personal expression, from its classical matrix. In them a French personality reached self-expression through assimilation and application of classical material, as well as through consideration of its own humanity and the ways of humanity at large. Yet this expression of a French personality does not cease to represent the humane moralizings of the later classical spirit. As Seneca was a moralist in his fashion and Plutarch in his, so was Montaigne in a manner which had drawn upon them both.

The classics did not make this close scrutinizer of life, opinion and belief; but they gave him matter for his scrutiny, and disciplinary instruction throughout the process.

[13] One cannot blame Bodin. The great surgeon Ambroise Parè accepted sorcery on the same grounds as he. Belief in it was practically universal: only Montaigne did not accept the evidence. Cf. Book 5, Chap. 3.

[14] *Les Essais de Montaigne* by Motheau and Jouast in seven small volumes (Paris, 1886), is a pleasant and convenient edition. It follows the text of 1588, and gives the additions of 1595.—a discrimination required by the intelligent reader. One need not refer to the enormous literature upon Montaigne. I have found Pierre Villey very useful: *Les Sources et l'evolution des Essais de Montaigne*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1908); Montaigne, *Textes choisis*, etc., (Bib. Française), Paris, 1912.

The *Essays* show the final stages of Montaigne's evolution, the stages of his final self-expression. They are the history of the man during the last twenty years of his life.

With the articulate development of his opinions, the expression of them, to wit, the Essay, takes form. It ceases to be a fagot of borrowed instances or opinions; and becomes a personal composition; cited instances and opinions are illustrations.

A virtuoso in egotism, Montaigne was an incomparable scrutinizer of himself. Self-scrutiny may have various motives and draw toward different ends; it may become the agent of intense, even inspired, purpose. In Montaigne it never won élan. But it possessed a large faculty of, as it were, reciprocal generalization, bringing this scrutinizer's consideration of the experience of mankind to bear upon his knowledge of himself, and in return presenting his self-knowledge in its universal bearing upon the knowledge of man.

The way in which Montaigne was reared and educated confirmed his natural disposition. Through honorable exertions his family had become wealthy and respected in Bordeaux. Within a generation or two an estate in the neighborhood had been acquired. Montaigne's father was a prudent man of affairs, and as a gentleman followed the profession of arms. He brought his son up carefully, perhaps too tenderly, certainly in a way to aggravate his physical and intellectual sensitiveness. The father was a Catholic; his wife, Montaigne's mother, is said to have been a Protestant and indeed a Jewess. At all events, the home atmosphere was one of religious tolerance. The boy, who was born in 1533, was taught Latin as his mother tongue, was sent to school and college, and in his early teens put to study law at Toulouse. Finishing his legal studies at the age of twenty-one, he was made a magistrate and, in a little while, counselor to the Parlement of Bordeaux. He retained this office till 1570, when, his father having died, he retired to his estate. He was already married and a

father. In 1580 he published the first two books of his *Essays,* and travelled in Germany and Italy. While absent he was elected mayor of Bordeaux, an honorable position which he hesitatingly accepted. He was re-elected two years later. He would seem to have discharged this office satisfactorily, though without zeal, keeping away from the city when the plague raged there. Politically, through the difficult times in which he lived, Montaigne avoided partisanship. He was a moderate royalist, a conservative who distrusted change. He enjoyed health, but seems to have been lazy, and averse to severe physical exertions or prolonged mental application. At all events he says so. He published the third book of his *Essays* in 1588, and in 1592 he died. The *Essays* brought wide repute to this man of position, whose gentility nevertheless was not so ancient as to have lost its self-consciousness. Disliking tedious forms and ceremonies, he did not forget that he was Michel, Sieur de Montaigne, whose father had been mayor of Bordeaux, and who himself once held that office as the successor of one Marechal de France and the predecessor of another. For the rest, his temperament and mentality, as well as his opinions, disclose themselves in his *Essays,* which became an examination and a mirror of himself.

Of all sixteenth century Frenchmen, Montaigne most surely made a personal path through the teachings of antiquity, the practical teachings of its later phases of accumulated precept and blended moralizing philosophies. His affinities were with the late pagan centuries which immediately preceded and followed the opening of the Christian era, and were so practically or ethically concerned with human conduct and vicissitudes. Within this sphere, Montaigne's interest and curiosity appear universal; nothing that was human failed to prick him. But his mental activity does not reach beyond this round of domestic consideration; it never addresses itself to the heights of inhuman knowledge, nor is touched by cosmic problems or any matter of physics or natural science. He had not the

detached interest of a Democritus, a Plato or an Aristotle in the knowledge which does not bear directly upon human life. His mental scope and entire self-expression lie within the sphere of humanism.

Accordingly it goes without saying that in his studies he had not mastered the successive systems of Greek philosophy, austere and difficult in their aloofness. He did not know the theories of early Eleatics and Atomists; nor had he penetrated the thought of Plato, having neither the temper nor the application. Yet in his later years he read the *Dialogues* in Ficino's Latin translation; for he was fascinated by the personality of Socrates, whose sayings he gathered also from Xenophon's *Memorabilia*. As for Aristotle, Montaigne had spent scant hours in his perusal. Epicureanism he had studied in Lucretius, and Stoicism mainly in Seneca. But he vitally mastered whatever he learned, absorbing the cosmopolitan tempers and blended philosophic moralizings of Cicero and Virgil, Horace and Seneca and Plutarch. He read and reread and never ceased to read the last, the *Illustrious Lives* and the *Morals* or philosophic pamphlets, all in the incomparable translations of Amyot, to whom he bears so warm a testimony of gratitude and admiration at the beginning of the fourth essay of his second book.

Montaigne also read widely in the Latin, French and Italian writers of his own and the preceding generations. They promoted the development of his sixteenth century personality; and helped him to lay an independent path through the opinions of the ancients. His own judgments are evolved as he proceeds through Stoicism and Epicureanism; then he is pricked by the Scepticism of Pyrrho. This also was a phase through which he passed on to the gentler questionings of the later Academy, which did not preclude the attainment of sufficiently pragmatic and positive opinions. Horace comes to his aid; and he expands the

sinews of his moral nature with the experience and fortitude of Plutarch's men and the varied philosophic suggestions of Plutarch's moral and philosphic pamphlets. In the course of these studies and lucubrations, he turns from Cato, the finished Stoic, to Socrates, the ideal sage.

Attracted at the first by Stoicism, Montaigne can say: "La vertu ne veut estre suyvie que pour elle mesme; et si on emprunte parfois son masque pour autre occasion, elle nous l'arrache aussitost du visage." [15] He eventually wearied of Stoicism, as the antique world wearied of it. One becomes ennuied with self-reliance and steeling oneself against life's trials and last catastrophe: one is bored with reading about Cato and learning how to die. An early Essay, composed in 1572 when Montaigne was, as he says in it, thirty-nine years old, bears the title: *Que philosopher c'est apprendre a mourir,*[16] a tedious antique sentiment, which fortunately had not been exemplified either in the philosophy or the life of the ancient world. Montaigne takes it from Cicero. Study and contemplation serve this end of severing the soul from the body, and teaching us how to die. All are agreed that happiness is our aim, though men differ as to the means. We cannot be content, however, with the fear of death before our eyes; and so philosophies seek to instruct us to despise it.

In some such way, none too clearly, Montaigne chooses to moralize at the beginning of this Essay. He draws the conclusion: "Le but de nostre carrière c'est la mort: c'est l'object necessaire de nostre visée; si elle nous effraye, comme est il possible d'aller un pas avant sans fiebre? Le

15 "Virtue wants to be pursued for her own sake; and if on occasion we borrow her mask for some occasion, she rips it off our face immediately."

16 (Essay 20) "That to philosophize is to learn to die,"

remede du vulgarire, c'est de n'y penser pas. Mais de quelle brutale stupidité luy peut venir un si grossier aveuglement?" [17] As the essay proceeds, the naturalness of death is made to appear; and a late addition points to the opinion that life and death are indifferent.

Naturally, Montaigne was more readily influenced by what he read in the first years of his retirement than when he had pondered longer upon the relative invalidity of human opinion. His earlier essays consist rather of excerpted incidents and sentiments illustrating some topic in his mind. Later he will not so quickly veer his helm to puffs of suggestion; his essays will embody his own thoughts more organically, and those thoughts have become more penetrating. He decided to make less of death: it ceased to be the *but* or final end, and becomes merely the *bout* or terminus, of life. To live happily, rather than to die happily is the great matter: "A mon advis, c'est 'le vivre heureusement,' non, comme disoit Antisthenes, 'le mourir heureusement,' qui faict l'humaine felicité." [18]

It may be that stupid peasants follow the better way, in bothering so little about their latter end. Preparation for death has tormented men more than the experience. "Nous troublons la vie par le soing de la mort; et la mort, par le soing de la vie: l'une nous ennuye; l'autre nous effraye. Ce n'est pas contre la mort que nous nous preparons, c'est chose trop momentanée; un quart d'heure

17 "The goal of our career is death; it is the necessary object of our aim. If it frightens us, how is it possible to take a step forward without feverishness? The remedy of the ordinary man is not to think about it. But from what brutish stupidity can come so gross a blindness!"

18 "In my opinion, it is 'living happily,' not as Antisthenes says 'dying happily' which makes human felicity." III, II, a passage subsequent to the edition of 1588.

de passion, sans consequance, sans nuisance, ne merite pas des praeceptes particuliers." [19]

Montaigne was not one utterly to abandon his earlier ways of thinking. Virtue might seem the better part of pleasure to him even in his last years.[20] He was always Epicurean. In the essay *De la Solitude,* moderate Stoicism and Epicureanism mingle in a tempered Horatian view of life. One needs the daily pleasures and occupations, but should not entangle one's liberty. "Il fault avoir femmes, enfants, biens, et surtout de la santé, qui peult; mais non pas s'y attacher en maniere que nostre heur en despende: il se fault reserver une arriere boutique, toute nostre, toute franche, en laquelle nous establissions nostre vraye liberté et principal retraicte et solitude." [21]

Although a man of ready social gifts as well as inclinations, Montaigne felt the value of solitude, especially for one who, having lived much in the world, would turn to that fine Horatian goal of belonging entirely to oneself: "La plus grande chose du monde, c'est de scavoir estre à soy." [22] It is thus that one best may husband the pleasures that remain,—the intellectual most assuredly, but also "les commoditez corporelles," which nature bids us cherish. "J'estime pareille injustice prendre à contrecoeur les

19 "We trouble our lives with the care of death and death with the care of life; the one annoys us; the other frightens us. It is not against death that we prepare ourselves, for that is too momentary a thing; a quarter hour of agony, without consequences, without harm does not merit any particular precepts." III, XII, about the middle of the Essay.

20 See a passage appearing only in the 1595 edition, inserted in I, XIX; (pp. 110-111 in T. I. of Motheau and Jouast's edition).

21 "We should have wives, children, goods, and above all health, he who can; but we must not tie ourselves to them in a way that our happiness depends on them. We must reserve a back of the shop, entirely our own, completely free, in which we establish our real liberty and our principal retreat and solitude."

22 "The greatest thing in the world is to know how to belong to oneself."

voluptez naturelles, que de les prendre trop à coeur." [23] One should not belittle the element of pleasure:—to what other end do we pursue the Muses? Whoever thinks that this is to debase their office, "ne scait pas, comme moy, combien vault le plaisir, le jeu, et le passetemps." But self-content through mental pleasures and bodily comforts is not for any fool! Self may be found an empty refuge. "Retirez vous en vous; mais preparez vous premierement de vous y recevoir." [24]

Montaigne was also as one quite unafraid, ready to confront any opinion with doubt and inquiry as to its validity. His was no metaphysical, but very practical scepticism touching the value of human judgments. Human ignorance and prejudice impressed him. Whatever men are wont to do and believe, they hold as incontrovertible and necessary for the welfare of man. It is easy to show that this opinion is unfounded. The habit of approach through doubting inquiry became part of Montaigne's mentality. For a period he cultivated scepticism by pursuing the reasonings of Pyrrho and other well-instructed doubters. His famous *Apologie de Raimond Sebond* (II, XII) discusses at rather interminable length the conflicting opinions of philosophers, and the variances and oppositions among human customs and convictions. It concludes that human reason is not to be relied on, nor can men penetrate the changing phantasmagoria surrounding them, or attain stable truth.

Should one think of Montaigne as passing through some sort of sceptical storm at any time? Did he seek partial shelter from it in some doctrine of practical probability, such as he might find in the teachings of the later Platonic Academy? He is so apt to utter whatever enters his mind, that generalizations as to his more abiding opinions and

23 "I hold it to be as much an injustice to take unwillingly to oneself natural voluptuousness as to take too much to heart."

24 "Retire into yourself, but first prepare to receive yourself there."

their sequence are hazardous. One may remember his own words: "touts jugemens en gros sont lasches et imparfaicts." [25] Yet temperamental conservatism, the habit of weighing probabilities, and the honesty of his nature which knew its unfitness for the building of lofty certitudes, seem to have continued to give him some practical reliance on the instincts of his nature and the customary acceptances of his time. He would have been the last man to claim consistency for his temperate and partial convictions. His own reason, peccable as he recognized it to be, should also guide him always; restrain him, on the one hand, from following hurtful impulses, and on the other from accepting stupidly cruel practices and credences. So he condemned judicial torture, and rejected sorcery and witchcraft as unreasonable and unproved.

That Montaigne recognized himself as a bundle of inconsistencies, may be read where one will in his *Essays,* for example in the first of the second book, "De l'Inconstance de nos actions." Likewise his ideas and opinions; for they were but himself. The *Essays* as they expressed his opinions, were just as much an expression of himself, a study of himself, a mirror of himself. He very consciously recognized them as such; and declared many times that in them he intended above all to paint and portray himself, his "humeurs et opinions." Thus expressing himself for others, he painted himself more clearly for himself, greatly to his own benefit and instruction. He said late in life: "Je n'ay pas plus faict mon livre que mon livre m'a faict, livre consubstantiel à son autheur." [26]

He had arrived at this idea and intention before 1580, when he published the first two books, and wrote his memorable preface to the reader. That spoke the truth in opening with the words: "C'est icy un livre de bonne foy,

25 "all wholesale judgments are cowardly and imperfect."

26 "I have no more made my book than it has made me, a book co-substantial with its author."

lecteur." [27] But it may have had its deprecatory affectation in asserting that the book was intended for the use of his relatives and friends. Doubtless it spoke the truth again, or meant to, in saying that the author wished to disclose himself without artifice or veil. And of a surety the truth and kernel of the preface was in the words: "C'est moy que je peins." [28]

The idea of portraying himself had taken form gradually with Montaigne; and only gradually was it clothed upon with the further idea of painting himself as the mirror of men. Autobiography was rife in the late sixteenth century. Montluc, D'Aubigny, had painted, had *narrated* themselves in their striking acts and sufferings. Montaigne's life did not afford such. It was always absorbed in its daily incident and experience, its observation and study, in its penetrating consideration of itself. All this would yield the material of self-portrayal. At first his tendency is to give the rather trivial outer incident or experience; then he goes deeper, painting the more inner Montaigne, consisting of thoughts and knowledge and opinions. "Je ne puis tenir registre de ma vie par mes actions . . . je le tiens par mes fantasies." [29] He will make this psychological portraiture as penetrating and complete as possible. "Ce ne sont mes gestes que j'escris, c'est mon essence." [30]

This mirror of self may be turned upon the nature and limitations of man: and justifiably; for I am the measure of all men. The idea that the individual exemplifies universal human quality seems to rationalize itself through one of the few bits of metaphysics to be found in the *Essays*. Montaigne uses the scholastic Aristotelian conception of the form or species contained in each individual,

27 "This is a book in good faith, reader."

28 "It is myself that I portray."

29 "I cannot keep a register (record) of my life through my actions. . . . I keep it through my fantasies."

30 "It is not my gestures that I write about; it is my essence."

which is representative of the universal genus, in this case man. Thus he argues: I present in my book a common, ordinary life; but it is all one: the whole matter of moral philosophy can be hung on such a life as well as on one of richer substance: "chasque homme porte la forme entiere de l'humaine condition." [31] Montaigne wrote these words before 1588, and subsequently attached this further comment: "Les aucteurs se communiquent au peuple par quelque marque special et estrangiere; moy, le premier, *par mon estre universel;* comme Michel de Montaigne, non comme grammairien, ou poëte, ou jurisconsult." [32]

Metaphysics was not his métier; and naturally he did not keep meticulously to his conception of *forme*. Yet he keeps near enough to it to preserve and simplify its illustrative value. It becomes, with him, the abiding character or nature within each individual. Those, says he substantially, further on in the same essay, who have essayed the rôle of reformers in my time, reform only the surface vices; "ceulx de l'essence," they do not trouble. Indeed the reform of these outer casual vices may pander to the satisfaction of vices "naturels, consubstantiels et intestins." No one who will listen to himself will fail to discover "en soy une forme sienne, une forme maistresse," which fights against the passions that are contrary to him. For myself, I am not commonly shaken by such shocks, and find myself always in my place, like a heavy body. "Mes desbauches ne m'emportent pas fort loing." The common trouble with men is that their retreat itself is befouled; the *idea* of their amendment is defaced, their penitence as faulty as their sin. "For myself," continues Montaigne one or two pages further on, "I can condemn and mislike *ma*

31 "each man carries the entire shape of the human condition."

32 "The actors communicate themselves to the people through a special and strange mark: I, the first, *by my universal being;* as Michel de Montaigne, not as a grammarian, or poet, or jurisconsult."

forme universelle, and I can pray to God for complete redemption and pardon for my natural weakness."

In the course of another thoughful essay, Montaigne speaks of peculiar and retiring natures—"naturels particuliers, retirez et internes." *Ma forme essentielle,* on the contrary, is communicative and social. The phrase here means evidently Montaigne's underlying and relatively abiding nature. He also uses the word itself, nature, and in various senses, just as we do. This vaguely changeable, but reassuring, thought underlies his later more positive philosophy of life. He has adopted this ancient maxim, that we cannot err in following nature, and that the "souverain precepte, c'est de 'Se conformer à elle.' "

Although the illustrative value of the author and his knowledge of himself are universalized in these later essays, the intimate self-portrayal does not cease. Rather the author and his book—*mon livre et moy*—become more intimately in and of each other. All the world will recognize each in the other. The discussion of broad human topics is ever and anon brought back to the author through personal statements, which put Montaigne again visibly upon the stage. This is all illustrated by the closing essay of the third book, upon *Experience*. In this penetrating consideration of life, if anywhere, may be found the author's own conclusions,—his conclusions as to the best way of life, according to Nature.

The essay is intricate. Beginning with reflecting on man's natural desire for knowledge, it notes the many forms of reason, and the like diversity of experience—on what shall one lay hold? Philosophy is a maze; another is the multiplicity of law: comment upon comment, adding to obscurity; precedent upon precedent, obstructing justice. "I study myself more than any other subject: 'tis my metaphysics, 'tis my physics. . . . In this monstrous maze—en cette université—I let myself ignorantly and negligently be fashioned on the general law of the world. I shall know it well enough when I feel it; my knowledge will not make it

change its course. . . . Philosophers rightly refer us to Nature's rules . . . but they falsify and sophisticate them. . . . The more simply one commits oneself to nature, the more wisely he commits himself. . . . From the experience I have of myself, I find enough to make me wise, were I a good scholar."

Through pages which follow, Montaigne has much to say of the physicians' ignorant interference with nature's ways, a favorite theme with him. As for his own diet, he has found that whatever disagrees with his palate, disagrees with his body. "Je n'ay jamais receu nuisance d'action qui m'eust esté bien plaisante." [33] Moreover, as to bodily ills,—"il fault apprendre à souffrir ce qu'on ne peult eviter." [34]

If modern readers have found Montaigne commonplace, it is because they have begun at the beginning and not at the end of the *Essays*. The third book contains the author's most penetrating and original consideration of life; and the concluding pages of its last essay (on which we continue to draw) are of Montaigne's very best. The thought of following nature underlies them. Elsewhere Montaigne has shown Socrates, antiquity's most complete sage, educing from his own nature through simple truth, his admirable way of life—not like Cato, "monté sur ses grands chevaux," but "d'un pas mol et ordinaire," delivering to us the most useful discourses, and addressing himself either to death or to the thorny traverses of life. Now Montaigne will speak directly, and give the results of his own observation.

"Nature has seen to it as a mother that the actions which she has enjoined for our needs, are also pleasurable; she invites us to them not only through our reason, but through our appetite; it is injustice to corrupt her rules.

[33] "I have never been harmed by any action that was really pleasant to me."

[34] "We have to learn to bear what we cannot avoid."

When I see Caesar and Alexander in the thick of their enterprises openly enjoying humane and corporal pleasures, I do not say that they slacken, but strengthen, their minds." "We are great fools" continues Montaigne in a passage inserted later,

> " 'He has passed his life in idleness' we say: 'I have done nothing to-day.' What! have you not lived? That is not only the fundamental, but the noblest of your occupations. You would have shown what you could do, had great affairs been given to your charge? If you have known how to consider and manage your life, you have done the greatest of all. Nature has no need of fortune pour se montrer et exploicter. Avez vous su composer vos moeurs? Vous avez bien plus fait que celui qui a composé ses livres. Avez vous su prendre du repos? Vous avez plus fait que celui qui a pris des empires et des villes." [35]
>
> "Le grand et glorieux chef d'oeuvre de l'homme, c'est vivre à propos,—" [36]

that is, to live humanly as a man should; all other matters, reigning, piling up treasure, are the merest accessories. I am pleased to see a general, at the foot of a breach which he is about to attack, give himself over altogether to his dinner with his friends; or to see Brutus, with heaven and earth conspiring against him and the liberty of Rome, snatch some hours of the night to devote to his abridgement of Polybius. It is for little souls, buried in the weight of affairs, to know not how to lay aside and take them up again.

35 . . . "to show and exploit herself. Have you known how to formulate your morals? You have done much more than he who has written his books. Have you known how to rest? You have done more than he who has taken empires and towns."

36 "The great and glorious masterpiece of man is to live appropriately,-"

"O fortes, pejoraque passi
mecum saepe viri! nunc vino pellite curas:
cras ingens iterabimus aequor." [37]

This, with plenty of antique suggestion, is Montaigne, either in his own words, or briefly translated, even to the summing up of his argument with his apt Horatian lines. And after further illustrations, he observes how men deceive themselves, failing to recognize how much easier are extremes than the broad middle path.

"The greatnesse of the minde is not so much to drawe up and hale forward, as to know how to range, direct and circumscribe itselfe. It holdeth for great whatsoever is sufficient. And sheweth her height in loving meane things better than eminent. There is nothing so goodly, so faire and so lawfull as to play the man well and duely; nor science so hard and difficult, as to know how to live this life well. And of all infirmities we have, the most savage is to despise our being." [38]

A little further on, he continues: "J'ordonne à mon âme de regarder et la douleur et la volupté, de vue pareillement réglée, et pareillement ferme; mais gaiement l'une, l'autre sévèrement. . . . Le voir sainement les biens tire après soi le voir sainement les maux" [39]—a sane view of the good things of life brings a sane view of the evil.

Montaigne says he has a way and a vocabulary of his own; he "passes the time" when it is bad, and holds to it when it is pleasant. Nature has put into our hands our

37 O brave men, who have often suffered far worse things with me, drive off your cares with wine; tomorrow we shall embark upon a vast sea.

38 Florio's translation.

39 "I order my soul to look upon both pain and pleasure with an equally controlled and equally firm look; but gaily at one, severely at the other . . . Viewing good things sanely implies viewing bad things sanely."

time so well equipped—"garnie de telles circonstances et si favorables"—that it is our fault if it hangs heavy or escapes us unused. There is husbandry in life's enjoyment, especially in making the most of it when our days have become few.

He continues with a subtle passage in which he explains that he does not merely sense the sweetness of content and prosperity, as others do; he intellectualizes his feelings, associates his mind with his sensations, but does not entangle it in them. His mind (âme) amplifies its good fortune, and measures its indebtedness to God; with its conscience in repose and the body fulfilling natural and pleasant functions, it experiences a great calm. "As for me, then, I love life, and cultivate it just as it has pleased God to bestow it on us," including the natural pleasures of the senses. "J'accepte de bon coeur, et reconnaissant, ce que nature a fait pour moi. . . . On fait tort à ce grand et tout puissant Donneur, de refuser son don, l'annuler et desfigurer. Tout bon, il a fait tout bon: *omnia, quae secundum naturam sunt, aestimatione digna sunt.*

"Des opinions de la philosophie, j'embrasse plus volontiers celles qui sont les plus solides, c'est à dire les plus humaines et nostres. . . . Socrates . . . prise, comme il doit, la volupté corporelle; mais il préfère celle de l'esprit, comme ayant plus de force, de constance, de facilité, de varieté, de dignité. Cette-ci ne va seulement seule, selon lui (il n'est pas si fantastique), mais seulement première; pour lui, la tempérance est moderatrix, non adversaire des voluptés. Nature est un doux guide, mais non pas plus doux que prudent et juste." [40] Montaigne would follow her track,

40 "I acept wholeheartedly and gratefully what nature has done for me. . . . We wrong that great and all-powerful Giver by refusing his gift, nullifying it, and disfiguring it. Wholly good Himself, he has made everything good: 'All things that are according to nature are worthy of esteem' (Cicero).

"Among the opinions of philosophy, I accept most willingly those that are the most solid, that is to say, the most human and

simply and without sophistry, and make no divorce among the acts which her harmony has joined together. It is folly to praise the soul and despise the body; they are a joint gift from God. Rarely are men's fantasies worth a good ragout, —except for "ces ames vénérables élevées par ardeur de dévotion et religion à une constante . . . meditation des choses divines . . . c'est une étude privilégé. Entre nous, ce sont choses que j'ai toujours vues de singulier accord: les opinions supercélestes et les moeurs souterraines." [41]

So Montaigne ends his paragraph with a note of sarcasm, which he does not leave unsounded as he closes his essay. He would show that there is time to spare for everything. "Die zeit ist unendlich lang," ["Time is infinitely long."] Goethe will say after him. It is folly to try to lift oneself out of human nature. "Ces humeurs transcendantes m'effraient, comme les lieux hautains et inaccessibles. . . . C'est une absolue perfection, et comme divine, de savoir jouir loyalement de son être. Nous cherchons d'autres conditions, pour n'entendre [from not understanding] l'usage des nôtres, et sortons hors de nous pour ne savoir [from not knowing] quel il y fait" [42]—even when mounted on stilts we still walk upon our legs, and though placed on

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most our own; . . . Socrates . . . prizes, as he ought to, bodily pressure, but he prefers that of the mind, as having more force, constancy, ease, variety, and dignity. The latter does not go alone, according to him (he is not so fanciful), but only comes first; for him temperance is the moderator, not the adversary, of pleasures. Nature is a gentle guide, but not gentler than wise and just."

41 "those venerable souls, exalted by ardent devotion and religion to constant . . . meditation on divine matters . . . this is a privileged study. Between ourselves, these are things which I have always seen as being in singular harmony: supercelestial thoughts and subterranean morals."

42 "These trancendental humors frighten me, just as high and inaccessible places do. . . . It is an absolute perfection and almost divine to know how to enjoy our being rightfully. We look for other conditions from not understanding how to use our own, and we go outside of ourselves from not knowing what is happening there (inside)."

the highest throne in all the world, we sit upon what nature has given us. "Les plus belles vies sont, à mon gré, celles qui se rangent au modèle commun et humain, avec ordre, mais sans miracle, sans extravagance. Or, la vieillesse a un peu besoin d'être traitée plus tendrement. Recommandons-la à ce Dieu protecteur de santé et de sagesse, mais gaie et sociale:

> Frui paratis et valido mihi,
> Latoe, dones, et, precor, integra
> Cum mente; nec turpem senectam
> Degere, nec cithara carentem.[43]

So he ends with a sentiment of Socrates and a verse from Horace.

Of all sixteenth century Frenchmen,—except Henry IV!—Montaigne is still the most universally read or considered, and written about. In his self-deprecation, he would not have claimed membership in the company of "les belles âmes . . . âmes universelles, ouvertes, et prestes à tout; si non instruictes, au moins instruisables."[44] In contrast with such he points to his own ignorance and ineptitude; and somewhat further on in this essay (II, XVII), suggests that his constant preoccupation with the antique temper, and those "riches âmes du temps passé," disgusts him with himself and his contemporaries. Yet there he is, in fact, if not the most "instruict," at all events

43 "The most beautiful lives, in my opinion, are those that conform to the ordinary and human pattern, in an orderly fashion, but without miracle and without extravagance. Now old age needs to be treated a little more tenderly. Let us commend it to that God, protector of health and wisdom, but of gay and sociable (wisdom):

> Grant me but health, Latona's son,
> And to enjoy the wealth I've won,
> And honored age, with mind entire
> And not unsolaced by the lyre.

44 "the beautiful souls . . . the universal, open souls, ready for everything; if not learned, at least teachable."

the most "instruisable" mind of his epoch. How ceaseless has been his influence, how very close and personal with so many men! Reading Bacon's *Essays,* we see the mark of Montaigne; stepping on briskly through the centuries, we find our own Emerson soaked with his manner.

The purpose of these few pages has been to distinguish his place in the intellectual development of sixteenth century France. Incidents and characteristic details of his thought and disposition have been passed over. No attempt has been made to give a close and intimate picture of one who has proved just as curiously interesting to later generations as he was to himself. One may well refrain from attempting that which has been essayed time and again, and has been achieved by only one man, Montaigne himself. None can rival Montaigne in drawing Montaigne. It is irksome to string excerpt upon excerpt from one so well known; and to restate him is to lose his flavor.

Of course he is not always the same Montaigne; in which respect he is akin to all of us. We recognize him in his universal aspect, as a type of the wingless intelligence. His is a constant analytical consideration of life, with the habit of accepting what seemed the better part—but which was not quite the best! He even recognized some things (like the most honorable service of the public) as beyond his energies. If the complete art of life, life's full content and wisdom, lies in action as well as thought, Montaigne did not achieve it wholly.

Undoubtedly good reason for the impression which he has made upon all the generations after him, lies in the independence and originality of his consideration of life, unequalled, even unrivalled, in his time. This joins with the fact that he was such a wonderful writer, so easy, so affable, so picturesque. Hence an individuality, nay a personality, is presented in a book, engagingly, instructively, and in such way as to make plain for every reader the practical applicable lessons of its experiences and opinions. The *Essays* of Montaigne have been a perennial source of

the wisdom of life. Their persuasive reason and convincing charm helped to impress a rational urbanity upon French methods of expression. The *Essays* became part of the French mind, a formative element in the French genius.

Chapter 7

Ramus

BEFORE SPEAKING OF THE PHASE of sixteenth century progress and expression exemplified in the reformed religion of Calvin, a brief reference should be made to the work of intellectual and educational reform attempted by a certain independent and combative Pierre de la Ramée, commonly called Ramus.[1] He also belonged to the reformed religion, and sealed his faith, willy nilly, in the massacre of St. Batholomew's. An Elizabethan playwright made his death the subject of a tragedy.

His is the story of one born in squalor, with an unquenchable desire for knowledge. At an incredible early age, he went in search of it in Paris, and continued resolute (this child!), and at the alleged age of twelve, in the year 1527, he became the servant of a rich student at the college of Navarre. He tried to work for his master by day and study for himself at night, till his eyes gave way. His spirit from the first was revolutionary. One of his early exasperations was at the current method of teaching logic and practicing it as a boisterous game of tripping up. He realized the uselessness of his years devoted to Aristotelian scholasticism, especially to the study of the *Organon*. His good angel led him to Plato, and he became fascinated

1 For Ramus, see Charles Waddington, *Ramus, sa vie, ses ecrits* etc. (Paris, 1855), (from whom I have chiefly drawn), F. P. Graves, *Peter Ramus and the Educational Reformation of the Sixteenth Century* (New York, 1912).

with the Socratic method of reaching and testing truth. It occurred to him to apply it to the scholastic Aristotelian dialectic. With what result he made manifest when, in 1536, he sustained for an academic day against all comers the argument of his Master of Arts thesis *Quaecumque ab Aristotele dicta essent, commentitia esse,* that the works ascribed to Aristotle were not his, and were, moreover, full of error. This was to attack the scaffolding, if not the entire structure, of theology; and the noise of the conflict echoed through the universities, as far as Italy.

Although looked upon askance by the authorities, Ramus obtained an opportunity to teach in one of the colleges. Before long his lecture room was thronged, and to the end of his career he continued the most popular and effective of university lecturers. A classical scholar and lover of letters, French as well as classical, he introduced into his lectures apt illustrations from literature and life. His mind was throbbing with desire to cast off the futilities of his education, and in the place of smoke and noise, gain the verities and realities of knowledge. He pursued this aim in all branches of education, branches of educational reform, as they became with him.

In 1543 he published an elementary text book of logic, written in clear and excellent Latin, *Dialecticae partitiones,* and the same year his *Aristotelicae Animadversiones,* a work of a different sort. In that, with a violence afterward regretted, he accused Aristotle of sophistry, and reviled his followers for their barbaric Latin and sterile disputations. Naturally this polemic brought trouble to its author. The Sorbonne held Aristotle to be the orthodox philosopher *par excellence;* his philosophy was inseparably interlaced with the saving dogmas of the Church. To attack one was to question the other. The Sorbonne of the sixteenth century was in a state of such excited conservatism, that the questioning of any accepted way of thinking, or the opening of any new avenue of knowledge, appeared fraught with peril; a frame of mind not confined either to the Sorbonne or the sixteenth century. Those sixteenth

century theologians were prone to impute "Lutheranism" or like baneful tendencies (often with reason) to all innovating scholars. They were more sensitive as to Aristotle than Thomas Aquinas or Albertus Magnus had been, who could admit that he was but a man, and might err. In the case of Ramus, the Sorbonne was right; for the same impulse for verity which drove him against logical conventions, alienated him from the Church, along with the better part of contemporary French scholarship.

The heads of the University were aroused. Process was instituted against the books, and against their author for corrupting the youth and disrupting authority. Such was the noise that Francis himself ordered the matter to be argued before his royal self and five arbiters, two appointed by each of the parties, and one by the King. The topics were as formal and academic as those disputed on about the year 1000 before the Emperor Otto II, by Gerbert, the future pope, and his German opponent Otric.[2] Ramus and his antagonist, each provided with a Greek Aristotle, disputed as to the object and divisions of logic, and whether a treatise on dialectic should start from a definition of the subject. The argument wound on, and Ramus finally obtained such damaging admissions from his enemy and had him so cleverly on the hip, that the three hostile arbitrators adjourned the court, and ordered the affair reargued from the beginning, with those admissions nullified. Ramus objected, but the three, having the King's authority behind them, condemned the book, Ramus's two friends registering their protest in favor of the freedom of philosophical discussion! The King issued a long sentence of condemnation, declaring that the said Ramus had been found *temeraire, arrogant et impudent d'avoir reprouvue et condamné le train et art de logicque receu de toutes nations.* [3] All men were forbidden to buy

2 See *The Mediaeval Mind*, I, p. 291, sqq.

3 ("rash, arrogant, and impudent for having censured and condemned the course and art of logic received from all nations.") The whole text is given in Waddington, *Ramus*, pp. 49-52.

or sell or read either of the books, and the university authorities made an orgie of bonfires with them, regretting only that the author had not been condemned to the galleys.

Thus the aroused established system defended itself against innovation. But in a year or two, a pestilence having in the meanwhile scattered the university, one of its colleges, the *Collège de Presles,* invited the able innovator to re-establish its membership and add to its prestige. Ramus became its head, and also gained the protection of the new King, Henry II, through the favor of the powerful Cardinal of Guise (later Cardinal of Lorraine) who had been a student with him at the college of Navarre. At the instance of this mighty friend— who twenty years afterwards threw Ramus to the assassins—the King founded a new Royal Lectureship of eloquence and philosophy, where Ramus would be safe from the persecution of his enemies in the University. But he was never to be free from their persecution, nor did he ever cease attacking current methods of university education, until he fell by the swords of assassins directed against him probably by his university colleagues.

We turn from the tale of these old rancors (a long one in the case of Ramus), to the labors of this eager and restless man, which were spent in simplifying the old methods, naturalizing and animating them, restating the educational matter, discarding the superfluous and absurd, and adding, as it were, a new-found quality of life. He fought to free education from vicious jugglery, to make it correspond with human nature and aid human accomplishment. In the reform of educational methods he seems to see ever and anon, a panacea for ignorance. In this he falls in with Roger Bacon long before him, and with Francis Bacon too, and others who imagined that all knowledge could be quickly gained through proper methods of approach. He had the dream that if men could but

freely follow the light of reason, a century might suffice to bring the sciences to their goal.[4]

Ramus's chief grievance against Aristotle was that his logical system did not follow the natural inborn logic of the human mind. In true dialectic, as in other practical sciences, there is first the faculty of reason; next, the precepts for its right employment; and finally the practice through which precepts become habits, part of the normal play of the reasoning faculty. Conversely, one will observe that the practice of dialectic pre-supposes the art or science consisting in a body of precepts which, in turn, pre-suppose the reasoning faculty and the nature of reason, of which the body of precepts should be the accordant expression. Practice must conform to precept, and precept to the nature of that which it is the precept or expression.

The end of dialectic is its practice or exercise in discourse, in accordance with right precepts, themselves in harmony with reason itself. These precepts are to be discovered from the practice of the best and most illuminating writers and philosophers of Rome and Greece, who exemplified the art of composing, of arguing and refuting, in their works. From their works we deduce the dialectical and rhetorical precepts, which have, in turn, proceeded from the rational natures of their great authors. With Ramus, dialectic is a close twin to rhetoric; and the two rest in scholarship and humanism, the study and love of classical letters. He makes clear that the true practice of this art must be real and living, serviceable in the affairs of life, in literature, and in the pursuit of truth. Let no fool think to attain it through the word play of the schools! And he illustrates his dialectic by a multitude of examples drawn from the best works of literature.

It was in this revivifying of dialectic, and then of other branches of education, that Ramus was creative. First, in dialectic, he attacked the matter truculently, shook it

4 *Scholae in liberales artes,* cited by Waddington, *Ramus,* p. 343.

up, and worked it over resolutely, though not independently. For, of course, he could not free himself from Aristotle's system. His technical modifications were not as radical as perhaps he imagined.[5] His rather vainglorious and self-conscious boldness made him attribute undue novelty to his results. Great had been his travail, as in 1555 he writes in the preface to his *Dialectique* addressed to his Maecenas, Cardinal Charles of Lorraine. But it was worth the pains "to have dared enter the lists against all the philosophers who ever were, in order to wrest from them the prize of dialectic which they had won by their great genius and diligence, and the prescription and judgment of centuries had confirmed to them." [6]

We turn to his well hated reforms in other fields. In a *Remonstrance au conseil privé*,[7] in 1567, against the appointment of his arch enemy Charpentier to a chair of mathematics, Ramus quotes his enemy's invective against himself, "que c'est un homme violent, importun, impérieux, qu'il avoit renversé la grammaire, rhétorique, logique, philosophie, mathématique, qu'il avoit faict tout un monde nouveau." [8] "In which, gentlemen," says Ramus, "he spoke some truth." But Socrates had small repute at Athens till the Oracle declared him the wisest of men. "And one part of his admirable wisdom was his contention that the liberal arts should be kept related to human life, and help men to think and act well; but the schools teach subtilties useless in practice. . . .

"Gentlemen, when I came to Paris, I fell among the subtilties of the sophists, and they taught me the liberal

5 Yet a fairly numerous school in various countries called themselves *Ramists* and professed to follow the precepts and practice of the master.

6 Given by Waddington, *Ramus*, pp. 401-407—a characteristic piece of writing.

7 Printed in Waddington, *Ramus*, pp. 411-417.

8 "that this is a violent, importunate, imperious man, that he had reversed (the order of) grammar, rhetoric, logic, philosophy, mathematics, that he had made an entirely new world."

arts through questions and disputings, without showing me any other advantage or use. When I had graduated as master of arts, I . . . decided that these disputes had brought me nothing but loss of time. Dismayed by this thought, led by some good angel, I chanced on Xenophon and then on Plato, and learned to know the Socratic philosophy."

Then when he had learned from this how silly the University professors were, to think to turn the liberal arts into sophistries, he spoke up and got himself in trouble,—as has already been shown. From which he was delivered by the good King Henry, and given a place among the royal lecturers.

> "Ainsi doncques estant delivré, estant invité par pris et honneur royal, je me mis en tout diligence de traicter les disciplines à la socratique, en cherchant et démonstrant l'usage, en retranchant les superfluitez des regles et preceptes. En ceste laborieuse et pénible contention d'estude, j'ay travaillé jour et nuict à enseigner et mettre en meilleur ordre la grammaire grecque, latine, françoise, la rhétorique et surtout la logique, instrument singulier à manier et traicter tous discours. . . ." [9]

Next he took up in order arithmetic and geometry, in which he is at present occupied.

This was a truthful picture of his labors. When the favor of King Henry and the Cardinal in 1551 made him a royal lecturer, in what was to be the Collège de France, he recognized as his the task of universal reform. The eyes of Paris were upon him. The youth thronged to his lec-

[9] "Being thus delivered, having been invited with prizes and royal honor, I have with great diligence applied myself to treat the disciplines in a socratic way, seeking and demonstrating usage, by cutting the superfluities of rules and concepts. In this laborious and painful intensity of study, I have worked day and night to teach and arrange in better order Greek, Latin, and French grammar, rhetoric and above all, logic, that unique instrument for handling all discourse. . . ."

tures, and he felt the responsibilities of a public man. His lectures on the classics, especially Cicero, were very popular. They were meant to illustrate his instruction in the seven liberal arts. These he taught with constant endeavor to keep their topics in correspondence with the practical needs of life and literature. He himself wrote grammars, of the Latin, Greek and French languages. In rhetoric he took up the warfare against the fashion of slavishly imitating Cicero or following Quintilian. Great was the fracas; Rabelais burlesqued it; Joachim du Bellay also satirized it. But Ramus kept sturdily on in the endeavor to apply to all the liberal arts the principles of his natural and living dialectic; so as the better to make education conform to life. To this end also he translated Euclid, and wrote an arithmetic and a geometry, which like his other school books passed through numerous editions, and exerted influence in Germany and England as well as France. He was an ardent mathematician, and his textbooks were better and clearer than those they superseded.

Ramus thought for himself in every field of education, testing all things boldly, discarding the useless, and reforming each topic along the lines of common sense. Strenuously in all things he endeavored to follow the light of his own reason. Three years before his death he wrote in a preface to his *Scolae in liberales artes:*

> "Someone has written recently that Ramus teaches Plato's method, and condemns that of Aristotle. The author, otherwise well instructed, has never read the Logic of Ramus; for there he would have seen it held that there is but one method, which was that of Plato and Aristotle as well as Hippocrates and Galen. . . . The same is found in Virgil and in Cicero, in Homer and in Demosthenes; it presides over mathematics, philosophy, and over the judgments and conduct of all men; it is not the invention of Aristotle or Ramus."

This was the method of man's inborn reason, which

more men seek than find, and still more, perhaps, think they possess. With Ramus the struggle for it had been attainment. His real life's work, which told upon his world, lay in his endeavor to apply in every field of knowledge this method divinely implanted in man, and man alone, to which, as he thought, all true education, all valid knowledge, all human progress, must conform.

Chapter 8

John Calvin

I. Humanist Reformers

Reform of the generally accepted and practised Roman Catholic religion was certain to issue from the human growth and enlightenment which made some halting progress in France in the fifteenth century, and in the sixteenth advanced with broader energy. The Reform began almost unconsciously as a concomitant of the newly stimulated scholarship, which was winning a clearer impression of the past. Men were studying the Latin classics with the increasing insight of a large knowledge, and were attempting Greek and Hebrew. The emboldened and deeply religious French scholarship naturally addressed itself to a like examination of the Bible, and began to compare what they found there with current ecclesiastical doctrines. This could not fail to show the lack of Scriptural authority for many teachings of the Church, as well as for much in its general complexion. If these awakening eyes perceived the Church to rest upon tradition and doctrine in part at least unsanctioned by Scripture, they would also see it standing upon practices which Scripture implicitly or explicitly condemned. Moreover, a new study of the Scriptures not improbably would lead to a constructive understanding of the Faith different from what the Church had taught for some centuries.

Lefèvre of Étales, a coast town of Picardy, was the

chief interpreter of these tentative beginnings of Reform, springing up in truth-seeking natures and issuing apparently from the habit of scholarly research. His was a gentle, earnestly religious, nature which was impelled to controversy by the love of truth. He is said to have been almost a centenarian when he died in 1536, and it is as an old man, at the end of a life of humane studies, that he comes forward as the exponent of a better truth in certain matters of the Faith. If he hoped to correct some baseless teachings, he had no thought of separation from the established church which held them. His mind was given to sacred study some time before 1509, when he published, in spite of his very imperfect knowledge of Greek and Hebrew, his *Quintuplex Psalterium,* saying in the preface: "For a long time I have been devoted to humane studies and have scarcely tasted of the studies which are divine, august, and not to be rashly approached. But from afar so brilliant a light has already broken on my sight that human learning seems darkness, compared with the sacred studies, while these seem to me to exhale a perfume unequalled for sweetness by anything on earth." [1]

The inchoate doctrinal reform that was in him becomes articulate in his *Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul,* appearing in 1512. He puts the Scriptures as the one sure foundation of our religion. The doctrine of Christ is found in them; let us not follow the precepts and dogmas of men which have no foundation in the light from on high.

> "There are men to-day," says he, "who teach the people a silly piety instead of the doctrine of Christ. What profits it to observe new fasts and pay tithes? Why should I rely on prayers set by unknown men, and omit apostolic injunctions? Why die in a monk's frock, when one has all his life worn other clothes? Nothing

[1] Given by E. Doumergue, *Jean Calvin,* etc., I., p. 81 (Lausanne, 1899).

of this sort is commanded by Christ. . . . The rest perhaps is superstitious rather than religious. . . . Let us cling to Christ alone, and to the apostolic teaching. That is enough, and is the chief thing for salvation."

He states the principle of justification by faith:

"It is most profane to speak of the merit of works, especially in the face of God. For a merit does not seem to ask a favor, but to demand what is due. To ascribe a merit to works is almost to hold the opinion of those who believe that we can be justified by works, the error for which the Jews are condemned. Let us keep silence over the merit of our works, which is little or nothing; and let us celebrate the grace of God which is all. One can attribute merit only to Christ, who has merited all for us; but for ourselves, let us confess that we have no merit before God, and hope in His grace." Again: "Wilt thou say, has ever anyone been justified without the works of the law, written or natural? Yes, innumerable people." [2]

Works alone will justify no one. Neither will mere belief;—the devils believe. God alone justifies. Evidently Lefèvre has not elaborated his position. But he makes other steps in the direction of that Reform which was to acquire the name of Lutheran, Calvinist, Protestant. For him the waters of baptism are losing their magic quality, the Eucharist is ceasing to be a priest-made sacrifice, and becoming a memorial; though he does not reject the "real presence." He disparages fasts, and priestly celibacy leading to loose incontinence, and objects to the Latin liturgy, which is not understood by the laity who take part in its prayers.

Lefèvre plants himself upon the Bible against which no human doctrinal authority, no custom or tradition of the Church, can prevail. He set to work upon a transla-

2 Passages given in Doumergue, o. c. pp. 81-83.

tion of the Vulgate into French. This brought him into conflict with the Sorbonne (the theological faculty of the university) who would not have the Bible thus presented to the people. His antagonist was the fanatical Beda, the head of the college of Montaigu. Incidentally a bitter dispute arose over the "three Maries," as Lefèvre would prove them to be from Scripture, one and the same as the Church held them to be, and the Sorbonne again officially affirmed;—another instance of ecclesiastic fearfulness lest light be let in on some of the untenable positions of the Church. Francis, influenced by his sister Marguerite, kept Lefèvre from prison and the stake. But Paris was no longer safe for him and he eventually closed his eyes at Nerac, in Aquitaine, protected and comforted by Marguerite. His influence had been considerable; a number of able men had been his disciples, some of whom saw fit later to purge themselves of their Reform. But among them was Guillaume Farel, the fiery exhorter of Calvin.

One may assume that a University whose most powerful faculty fanatically opposed the acceptance of anything out of harmony with church tradition, would in other matters offer but an inferior and hide-bound instruction. All evidence shows this to have been the fact at Paris in the first half of the sixteenth century. It is also clear that the efforts to improve instruction came from men who were inclined to the Reform or known to be adherents of it. Budé and Ramus are examples. Mathurin Cordier was another. He had been converted in 1528 by his friend Robert Estienne, and was Calvin's first teacher at Paris. Known as the author of certain repeatedly printed *Colloquies,* he taught in Calvin's academy at Geneva, and died at the age of eighty-five, in 1564, the same year with his great pupil.

Besides these pronounced reformers, both in education and religion, there were scholars, poets, ecclesiastics, men of the world, who approved of the Reform, but fled from persecution, or escaped it by restraint of speech or, sometimes, by recantation. Their protector was the Platonically

inclined Marguerite of Navarre, who declared (à propos of evangelical preaching) that no one should fear to hear the word of God. Among them was Briçonnet, bishop of Meaux, who loved Plato and advocated the Reform, till he was frightened back from it; and Clichtove, a pupil of Lefèvre, who also recanted. There was Clement Marot, court-poet and translator of the Psalms; and Rabelais, greatest of all. Marot shows a clear, if moderately instructed, intelligence alienated by the beliefs and practices of the Church. Rabelais's capacious mind, filled with the best learning of the time, despised the silly stories of the *theologastres*—belly theologians—of the Sorbonne, vain talkers, "sophistes sorbillans, sorbonagres, sorbonigenes" and so forth; and just as vehemently he despised the futile pedantry of the education which his youth had been subjected to. Such a man, of course, and Marot too, would be repelled by the later ways of the Reform under Calvin's dominance. For they combined love of the world and love of letters, with some subordinated rational desire for a religion freed from palpable untruth and follies.

The reform of education as well as the Reformed religion represented intellectual advance. It meant much to brush the encrustations from logic, and improve the study of grammar, rhetoric, and arithmetic. Whatever value the old crudities once had, to discard them now meant a truer and larger view of what was useful and what was useless in education, knowledge, life. Likewise, a more scholarly perception in matters of the Faith brought clearer understanding of the foundation of Christianity, and a rejection of some baseless traditions, of some conceptions more appropriate to magic, and some superstitious practices. The contemporaneous study of the Roman Law was penetrating through the accumulation of gloss and commentary to the text of the Digest. So now this new religious scholarship would pierce the once living spells of mediaeval symbolism, custom, and tradition, to the sure records of the pristine Faith, read them with fresh eyes, and re-interpret them according to their evident meaning,

rather than follow traditional acceptances. The final systematized and ordered culmination of the Reform, which came through Calvin, represents still further intellectual or logical advance. But the austerity of Calvanism narrowed the fullness of interest in life embraced by the prior humanistic generation of French reformers. Yet his system was a product of a French mind, working itself out as soul and body in the Calvinist Church and State.

II. Calvin's Formative Years

One may observe the environment of genius, and note the pabulum on which it has fed. But it presents a larger mystery than the capacities and limitations of common men. John Calvin was a man of power; the *vivida vis* of his nature entered his deeds and words, and made his *Christian Institute* a living sword. He was the incarnation of the power of reliance upon Scripture. He spoke in the assurance that he was the spokesman of God's truth. He lived in the conviction of God's perfect worth and sufficiency for men, his energies consecrated to God's glory. This lifted him above any selfish and meticulous interest in his own salvation, and made the inspiration of his leadership.

His *Christian Institute* [3] was the expression of himself. But this mighty self-expression of Calvin was emphatic re-expression. He belongs to the second generation of Reformers, and stands on Luther's shoulders. He is an interpreter of Paul and Augustine. He still speaks with the mouths of the great mediaeval schoolmen. His Institute is a *Somme*, a *summa* of Christian doctrine, only somewhat less inclusive and universal than the *Summa Theologiae* of Thomas Aquinas.

The arguments of this great book held themselves erect

[3] There is no ground in the Latin and French originals for the plural title "Institutes," used by all English translators of Calvin's great work, and followed, so far as I know, by English writers upon Calvin.

in Calvin's time and for the generations of his followers. But it was not merely the contents and the matter of the argument that made the book's enduring influence. Its consummate language and power of expression penetrated and held fast in the consciousness of men. The first Latin draft overwhelmed the ardent preacher Farel with its power, and a conviction of the god-given genius of the author. Here was the man to declare and organize the Church of God. And Farel had been right. This was in 1536: five years later Calvin's French version became a sword of flame in the vernacular. Its words and phrases transmitted themselves as a rich legacy to the advancing French language, carrying new disclosures of clarity and force.

One may mention the apparently formative facts of Calvin's life, until his final establishment at Geneva.[4] He was born at Noyon in Picardy in 1509. His father, a man of law and business, employed by the clergy and influential families of the neighborhood, was much interested in the education and worldly welfare of his son, whom he destined for the church. The town was not especially bigoted or religious; nor were its ecclesiastical affairs edifying. A powerful family held the bishopric as by hereditary right, and there were quarrels between the bishop and the chapter, and controversies touching the forgery of relics; with all of which John Calvin as his father's son must have been acquainted. His boyhood was little impressed with reverence for the Church; nor was his respect likely to increase when at the age of fourteen he set forth to carry on his education at the Paris University, which gave instruction in the elementary as well as the higher branches. There Calvin was first taught by Mathurin Cordier, and under him progressed from the

4 For them see finally E. Doumergue, *Jean Calvin*, etc. (Lausanne, 1899, etc.); more conveniently, Willeston Walker, *John Calvin, the Organizer of Reformed Protestantism* (N. Y., 1906, Putnam's). H. Bossert, *Calvin* (Les grands ecrivains français)—and innumerable other books!

barbarous Latin smattering prevailing among the half-educated youth, toward an ample and effective command of Latin. His intellect was rapidly developing, his memory was prodigious, and he was an indefatigable student. Hence the extraordinary attainments of his first ten years after reaching Paris.

As Cordier did not teach the higher courses, Calvin was transferred to the dirty old reactionary college of Montaigu, where the students' lives were passed in toil and squalor. Its principal was the most fanatical spirit of the Sorbonne, the intolerable Noël Beda, "not the Venerable," as his enemies remarked. There was war between him and the really venerable Lefèvre during these student years of Calvin; and one cannot doubt to which side Calvin had inclined when he left Paris in 1528. This young man, who had already been given sundry small benefices, and was destined for the Church, now proceeded to Orleans to study the Civil Law. His vacant place in the college of Montaigu, one may almost say, was taken by a slightly older man, by name Ignatius Loyola!

After some months at Orleans, Calvin was drawn to Bourges by the fame of the jurist Alciat. Bourges was the city of Marguerite, who protected many truth-seeking scholars there. Among them was Melchior Wolmar, a Lutheran who taught Calvin Greek, and became his friend for life. At his house Calvin associated with "God-fearing" men, and advanced in his religious convictions and the knowledge in which they were rooted. He met there also the little Theodore de Béze, ten years his junior, who was to become his adoring friend, biographer and successor.

After Bourges, Calvin is found again in Paris, studying more Greek under Danès, a highly reputed Royal Reader. Loyola and Rabelais may have listened with him to this Greek professor, perhaps, in the year 1531. The fruit of Calvin's classical studies soon appeared in his first work, in April 1532, a commentary upon Seneca's *De Clementia,*

erudite and philological, and perhaps showing the moral tendencies of his mind.

But henceforth classical scholarship was to be the humble handmaid to the Reformed theology, with Calvin. He went again to Orleans, where at the University he was the "procureur" or representative, of the "nation" of Picardy. But by October 1533, he was back in Paris excited by an attack upon Queen Marguerite in a comedy acted by the students of the college of Navarre, and by the Sorbonne's animadversions on a book known to have been written by her. The Rector of the University was Calvin's friend Nicholas Cop. He had spoken already in the Queen's defense, and is supposed to have asked Calvin to prepare for him the annual Rector's discourse before the University. Either Cop or Calvin, or the two together, prepared this fateful manifesto of the Reform. Men's passions, already aroused, became enflamed. Cop fled to Basel, and Calvin left Paris. For a while he lived at Angoulême, then at Nerac, Marguerite's residence after she became the Queen of Navarre, and where dwelt the good old Lefèvre. After a while Calvin returned to Noyon, apparently was imprisoned there, and resigned his benefices! He went to Poictiers; then the Affair of the Placards drove him to flight in earnest; and he too went to Basel, and there composed in 1535 the first draft of his *Institute*.

The occasion of its rapid completion and publication was the need to defend the Reform from the accusations of lawlessness and anarchy, which the violence of Anabaptist bands had provoked, and Catholic hate had quickly seized upon. The first Latin draft, with its powerful epistle to King Francis, was published at Basel in March 1536. But the date of the letter to the King is August 1535. It opens with the statement that the writer had had no thought of addressing His Majesy when he first set himself to write his book. His only purpose was "d'enseigner quelques rudimens; par lesquelz, ceux qui seroient touchez d'aucune bonne affection de Dieu, feussent instruictz à

vrai pieté." [5] But "seeing that the rage of certain of the wicked had so risen in thy realm as to leave no place for sound doctrine, I thought it better to make this book serve both as instruction to those whom I had intended to teach and as a confession of Faith to thee, that thou mightest know what is the doctrine against which those so furiously rage who are troubling thy realm to-day with fire and sword."

He had felt no shame to present a "somme" [6] of this same doctrine, which they think should be punished by imprisonment or exile, or the fire; and he knows with what horrible reports the King's ears have been filled, and the false calumnies by which this doctrine has been defamed. He has no thought of making a personal defense, which might again open France to him. "Mais j'entreprens la cause comme de tous les fideles, et mesme celle de Christ." [7] We have no reason to glory, save in the pity of God, through which with no merit of our own, we are saved. But our doctrine is above the glory and power of this world; "car elle n'est pas nostre: mais de Dieu vivant et de son Christ." [8] Calvin refutes the charge that it is new and dubious and unconfirmed by miracles, which are not needed by those who forge no new Gospel, but can claim the miracles of Christ and his apostles for their re-assertion of Christ's truth. He shows that the Church Fathers are not against him; and as for *custom*, it were sheer iniquity to yield to it, since the better things rarely please the majority. So particular vices attain to a common

5 "to teach a few rudiments; by which those having some slight affection for God, would be taught to have real piety." From Calvin's French translation of 1541. It is almost impiety to translate Calvin's mighty French. Where it seems quite clear, I have not tried to.

6 The Latin, of course, is *summam*, which takes us back to Thomas Aquinas. See below, p. 161 sqq.

7 "But I undertake this cause like all the faithful, even that of Christ."

8 . . . "for it is not ours; but of the living God and of his Christ."

vicious consent:—"mauvaise coustume n'est autre chose qu'une peste publique." [9] As to which is the true Church, he has also much to say. And again, he begs the King not to be moved by false charges of sedition brought against those who live simple, peaceable lives, who even when driven from their homes do not cease to pray for the prosperity of the King and his realm. "They have not so ill profited from the Gospel that their lives are not examples to their defamers, of chastity, mercy, temperance, patience and modesty. Surely the truth itself testifies for us that we fear and honor God, when by our life and by our death we wish to sanctify His name."

Thus this letter reads as an early Christian "Apology" to a Roman Emperor, using similar arguments. It closes with a veiled threat. If their just pleas will not be heard, but are answered only with prison, blows, and burnings, then truly, as sheep led to the slaughter, they are reduced to extremity. "Tellement neantmoins, qu'en nostre patience nous possederons noz ames, et attendrons la main forte du Seigneur: laquelle, sans doubte, se monstrera en saison, et apparoistra armée, tant pour delivrer les povres de leur affliction, que pour punir les contempteurs."

"Le Seigneur Roy des Roys vueille establir ton Throsne en justice, et ton Siege en equité, Tresfort et Tresillustre Roy." [10]

One should read this epistle to King Francis to feel its power. The author was twenty-six years old. Before taking up the contents of his *Institute,* we may follow for a while the man himself.

Having published his book, Calvin left Basel for Fer-

9 . . . "ill custom is nothing but a public plague."

10 "Thus, nevertheless, through our patience (forebearance) we will possess our souls, and await the strong hand of the Lord; which, doubtless, will show itself in time, and will appear armed, both to deliver the poor from their suffering, and to punish the contemptuous."

"May the Lord King of Kings establish your Throne in justice, your Seat in equity, Most Powerful and Illustrious King."

rara, perhaps to counsel its Duchess, Renée of France, who led an anxious life as an adherent of the Reform. He exhorted her to steadfastness, and composed writings against papist rites and superstitions, the Mass, the worship of the wafer, indulgences, and the use of holy water. He evidently detested Italy, declaring, as Béze reports, that he entered it only that he might leave it.

From Ferrara, by various circuities of route, with Strasbourg in his mind, Calvin came to Geneva. The town had already cast out its objectionable bishops, and with the aid of Berne, had freed itself from their domination and the over-lordship of the dukes of Savoy. Through troubles and disturbances, it had organized itself democratically after the model of other towns in the Swiss Confederacy. The General Council of all the citizens elected the four syndics and the Lieutenant de la Justice. Sixteen citizens, also chosen by the General Council, with the four Syndics of the current year and the four of the year before, made the Little Council, usually called simply the Council. In emergencies, it could add thirty-five leading citizens to itself, and thus become the Council of Sixty. In imitation of Berne, a council of Two Hundred also was inaugurated, chosen by the Little Council. Under the exhortations of the fiery preacher Farel, and with the support of Berne, Geneva had declared itself "for the holy law of the Gospel and the word of God. . . . abandoning all masses and other rites and papal abuses, images and idols." It voted also to establish schools. In this action the Councils represented Church and State. They adopted the strict discipline of manners obtaining in other reformed Swiss cities, which represented the reaction of the French and Swiss Reform against the current looseness of morals. At this time, Geneva had about fifteen thousand inhabitants; and its violent quarrels were merely stifled for the moment, when Calvin arrived in July 1536 *en route* for Strasbourg.

Farel was the most influential leader of the Geneva Church—and State. He had published a brief "Sommaire" of the Reformed Faith. But on the appearance of Calvin's

Institute, this fiery enthusiast declared his own book useless, so much more abundantly did the celestial water flow in Calvin's work. He accosted Calvin at the inn, and did not stop with gentle persuasion in his endeavor to change Calvin's plan to proceed to Strasbourg, and lead a life of study. He swore that God would curse him and his retired life if he drew back and refused to aid the Genevan Church in its necessities. Calvin was as if struck from heaven; he recognized the call of God, and overcoming his timidity and reserve, agreed to stay.[11]

III. The Work at Geneva

Under Farel's aegis, Calvin entered upon a career destined to create a Reformed Church, with a Reformed dogma, liturgy, and ethics, and political institutions in harmony. It was in Geneva that he brought the Calvinistic Church-State into most complete existence; not without setbacks, revolts, and many troubles. At times, when his influence was great in Europe, a city election (1553) might go against him, or the Council might withhold its consent to the publication of one of his books! One thinks of Innocent III lording it over the kingdoms of the earth, when his unruly Romans had driven him to take refuge in Viterbo.

The first labor of Calvin, and those with whom he worked, and later dominated, was to bring about the organization, one might say, the formulation of a godly community. The fact and its expression lay in the Articles, the Catechism, and the Confession of Faith, and their sworn acceptance by the city. The Articles—Articuli de regimine Ecclesiae—were presented with a written statement in the name of Farel and "other preachers"; and were approved in January 1537. They declared that the Communion of the Lord's Supper should take place every Sunday, in view of the consolation received from it by the

[11] The scene is described in the writings of both Calvin and Farel.

faithful, and seeing that Jesus did not institute it for commemoration once or twice a year, but as a frequent exercise of our faith and charity. Those of evil life should be excluded, so that the sacrament might not be polluted and profaned. "Pour ceste cause, nostre Seigneur a mise en son Esglise la correction et discipline d'excommunication. . . ." [12] To carry out this "discipline" good men were to be chosen from the different quarters of the city whose duty was to report evil doers to the ministers, for admonishment or exclusion from the Supper, but not from the preaching, since it might please the Lord to touch their hearts.[13] Whoever was thus excluded from the Supper was no longer in the Communion of the Church, and should not be permitted to remain within the community of the faithful, to wit, the City. Calvin was as adamant in his insistence upon the right of the Church to excommunicate, untrammelled by any authority beyond itself. And here, as often in the promulgation of the Reform, one is reminded of the organization of the early churches in the Roman Empire.

For the instruction of the rude and ignorant, Calvin composed the first catechism of the church of Geneva; in which the teaching of his *Institute* was put concisely.[14] It was an advance in religious instruction. Like the *Institute* which it summarized, this "Instruction" was not novel in substance, but new in its function and its efficacy. From its opening sentence—"Que tous hommes sont nez pour cognoistre Dieu" [15]—in simple, dignified language, it moves with force and even sweetness in the power of its reason:

12 "For this reason, our Lord has put into his Church the discipline and punishment of excommunication. . . ."

13 The Articles provided also for church singing, the religious instruction of children, and marriage.

14 It was not till 1541 that he composed the *Little Catechism*, in dialogue form.

15 "That all men are born to know God"—

"Il nous fault penser, nous qui faisons profession de pieté que ceste vie caduque, et qui bientost finera, ne doibt estre autre chose qu'une meditation d'immortalité. Or, on ne peult trouver nulle parte vie éternelle et immortelle, sinon en Dieu. Il fault doncques que la principale cure et solicitude de nostre vie soit de chercher Dieu et aspirer à luy de toute affection de cueur et ne reposer ailleurs qu'en luy seul." [16]

Present needs demanded a declaration or *Confession* of the Faith, which "tous bourgeois et habitans de Genève et subjectz du pays doyvent jurer de garder et tenir." [17] The Councils approved the measure. The difficulty was to make all the people take the oath, which should be administered through the local assemblies of the "dizaines," in which the city was divided. Objections came from many kinds of people. There were soon two parties, "jurants" and "non-jurants." In the main the oaths were sworn at last. But the next election was unfavorable. The preachers were requested by decree to abstain from politics and devote themselves to preaching. The powerful reformed city of Berne supported certain forms of worship, and after a conference with the Bernese representatives, the government of Geneva demanded of Farel and Calvin that they administer the Communion in the manner agreed upon with Berne. Calvin was no stickler as to such minutiae; but was a rock against interference. Hence a refusal. Banishment was pronounced against them. And Calvin made his way to Strasbourg, upon the strenuous invitation

16 "We must ponder, we who make a profession of piety that this null life, which will soon end, must not be anything but a meditation on immortality. One cannot find eternal life and immortality anywhere but only in God. Then the main care and solicitude of our life must be the search of God and giving him all the affection of our heart and resting nowhere else but in him alone."

17 "all burghers and inhabitants of Geneva and the subjects of the country must swear to belong to and to keep."

of Sturm, the great Reform educator, and others. The year was 1538.

In Strasbourg, Calvin taught and preached, gained much from intercourse with Sturm and Bucer, revised his *Institute,* and composed his reply to Cardinal Sadoletus, through which the godly minded of Geneva saw that there was none like him. The affairs of Geneva did not proceed securely. There were party tumults. The strenuously religious faction, friends of Farel and Calvin, were called *Guillermins,* after Farel's Christian name: later one said Calvinists. Farel counselled charity; Calvin for a while abstained from action. When he spoke, it was to express his love for Geneva, and point out that the enemy of his people was not their fellow citizens, but Satan.[18] The new preachers lacked Calvin's power of moral austerity. The College, the Hospital, the morals of the town, deteriorated. A Catholic reaction made some progress, fostered by the persuasive letter of the Cardinal. Berne menaced Geneva's liberties. The City could not safely appeal for succor from without. Solidarity, inner strength was needed, that it might take its free and independent place by the side of the other Reformed cantons. That could come through reorganization, regeneration; for which Calvin was the only fitting instrument. The decision was taken to recall him. He had scruples, felt distrustful of Geneva and of his own timid nature (of which no one else accused him!). He had many interests elsewhere; at Strasbourg where his influence was growing, in his studies, in the colloquy at Worms, which he attended, as he did the adjourned colloquy in Ratisbonne. His decision wavered; but again a letter from Farel turned him toward Geneva. His disinterested friends in Strasbourg, and also the pastors of Zurich, exhorted him to undertake the charge, urging that Geneva, situated at the confines of France, Germany, and Italy, might be the hearth from which the Gospel was

18 Ep. to the Church of Geneva—Bonnet, *Lettres de Jean Calvin,* I, p. 13 (Paris, 1854).

destined to spread, for the enlargement of the Kingdom of Christ. So the event proved. Through the genius of Calvin, Geneva became the capital city of the Reform, radiating energy and inspiration.

Calvin returned to Geneva in September 1541, and entered on his task. At his request the Council immediately selected six of its members to act with him. Three days later he wrote: "After offering my services to the Council, I declared that the church could not maintain itself unless a constitution were established modelled on the word of God and the practice of the primitive church. I sketched the chief features, that I might be understood." His object was to secure the self-government of the Church, and give it sufficient disciplinary powers to keep its members in right belief and conduct. The *Ordonnances* as finally passed, somewhat modified from Calvin's draft, declared that Christ had instituted in his Church the four "offices" of pastor, doctor (or teacher), elder and deacon. Pastors (or ministers) were to be examined and chosen by the body of pastors in office, and confirmed by the Council; the elders were chosen by the Council, on consultation with the ministers. The ministers' duty was to preach, admonish and reprove, in public or private, and administer the Sacraments. It was for the teachers, through the school, to instruct in sound doctrine and in the "science humaines." The deacons were entrusted with the distribution of alms and the management of the hospitals, which were open to the indigent as well as to the sick. Begging was prohibited. An exceeding abundance of sermons was prescribed, not on Sunday alone. The Communion was to be administered four times a year. All the ministers were required to meet weekly for discussion, and every three months for criticism of one another; if there was contention among them, the elders should be called in; and when no decision could be reached upon grave matters of doctrine or conduct, recourse was to be had to the magistrates. Under the circumstances, the body of ministers obtained great influence in affairs. But the central organ of spiritual government and discipline

was the *Consistory*, composed of members of the ministry and of twelve elders. It could summon before it for examination, censure, or ultimate excommunication, whoever offended in doctrine or conduct, or failed in church attendance. As the functions of the Consistory might impinge upon the powers of the Council to maintain order and punish for crime, the following significant provision was inserted:

> "That all this [discipline] shall be done in such fashion that the ministers shall have no civil jurisdiction, and shall use none but the spiritual sword of the Word of God as St. Paul directs them; and that the authority of the government and of ordinary justice shall in no way be diminished by the Consistory, but that civil authority shall remain unimpaired. And, in particular, where it shall be necessary to inflict some punishment or restrain the parties, the ministers with the Consistory, having heard the parties and made remonstrances and admonitions as shall be fitting, shall report all to the Council, which shall deliberate on their report and order and render judgment according to the merits of the case." [19]

These provisions for the exercise of discipline by the body of ministers or by the Consistory made the primary Calvinist solution of the problem of maintaining the independence and disciplinary power of the Church in harmony with the authority of the civil government. Calvin set himself to uphold the Church in this relationship of independence and coöperation. The struggle was long, and in moments doubtful. Calvin, although minister, held no position in the city government, and was not even made a burgess till 1559. Yet he had become Geneva's autocrat, "the boss," in the language of American politics; and that in civil as well as church affairs. Although he felt the conflict to be repugnant to his timid and retiring nature, he must have known his ability and fitness for it. With vivid-

[19] From Walker's *John Calvin*, p. 273.

ness and tenacity he beheld as set in principle the import of seemingly small matters; and the power of his logic and passionate insistence was not to be withstood. All effective opposition to him ceased in 1555, when the Councils by a vote to abide by the *Ordonnances,* finally secured to the Consistory the right of excommunication.[20] Shortly afterwards the foolish violence of Calvin's opponents brought upon them cruel measures of banishment and death. Calvin approved and aided in the prosecution, and saw the hand of God in the tortures which forced questionable admissions from the victims. With Calvin the spread of Christ's Kingdom and the word of God hallowed every measure. One may add that his influence in Geneva had been strengthened through the admission to citizenship of numerous Frenchmen, exiles for their faith, men of education and intelligence, devoted to the cause of the Reform.

In accord with the spirit of the *Ordonnances,* Calvin formed an Academy combining elementary and university instruction. It was inaugurated in 1559 under the rectorship of Beza, the master's most devoted disciple. Distinguished teachers were installed, and students drew together from all countries. It became a power for the spread of Calvinism, as it sent forth convinced and instructed disciples to teach and preach in France, England, Scotland and the Lowlands.

Calvin continued in the Academy the courses of theological lectures which he had given unremittingly for years. They formed the nucleus of his Commentaries on the books of Scripture. To the task of commentator he had brought wide reading, an exceptional knowledge of the tongues, and a new and personal insight into the meaning of the sacred writers. They were the inspired enunciators of God's words. Calvin divined that these words of God had definite and single meaning, to be derived from the text.

20 See Walker's *John Calvin,* Chapters VIII-XIII for the story of these conflicts. Also, "Calvin's Programme for a Puritan State in Geneva," H. D. Foster, *Harvard Theological Rev.,* Oct., 1908.

His exegesis, following upon the work of Luther, measurably freed itself from allegorical and mystical interpretations. His Commentaries have always exerted enormous influence.

The struggle and victory in Geneva, and the lectures in its Academy, were the fulcrum of Calvin's active influence upon western Europe, and most directly upon France. Thither passed innumerable letters from Geneva, strengthening and sharpening the convictions of the faithful, heartening the wavering, insisting upon order and organization. From Lausanne and Strasbourg, as well as from Geneva, travelled preachers, impressed with the thoughts and words and the formative ideas of Calvin;—"daring all things boldly for the word of God, of which they are made the ministers." The Reformed churches of France organized themselves along the lines which Calvin set—a band of communicants, one or more ministers, a Consistory, with regular preaching and administration of the sacraments.[21] But from lack of a co-operating civil government, the Genevan model could not be wholly followed in these French churches. The minister was chosen by the elders and deacons, who were elected by the body of the church. Ministers, elders, and deacons constituted the governing Consistory. The mode of worship, with the Catechism, came also from Geneva, where Calvin had fixed the liturgy of the Reform. In 1559 a small synod of French churches met in Paris to formulate a Confession of Faith and a general plan of organization. Calvin's teaching and methods were embodied in the result, although he had doubted the wisdom of the meeting.[22]

21 Cf. Lemonnier, in *Hist. de France* (ed. by Lavisse), Vol. V,2 p. 219, sqq.

22 In 1557 Calvin put in the form of a letter "To the King of France," an admirable "Confession des Eglises de France." Bonnet, II, p. 151, sqq.

IV. The Christian Institute

Calvin's sweep of purpose made for the greatness of his *Christian Institute*. All the discipline of his study and all the wisdom of his experience rendered this book of many revisions a complete expression of his personality.

The first draft was completed in 1535, when Calvin was twenty-six. The strenuously systematized religious thinking which characterized it must have been gaining form in the young man's mind through the preceding years, overarching his classical and legal studies with a consecrating purpose. Great was the disciplinary value of these studies. What could have been more suggestive to the man who was to pierce through church tradition to the rock of Scripture, than the new training in the Civil Law, from which gifted students gained the faculty of penetrating through the maze of gloss and commentary to the text of the *Digest*?

His education, his tense purpose, and his conviction that he was the spokesman of God's truth, contributed to his style of power. He wrote Latin admirably; and his French, for lucidity and force, has never been excelled. He is one of the great creators, and is often called the "father," of modern French. Pascal and Bossuet, in whatsoever they may have equalled or surpassed him, "stand upon his shoulders." [23] His unequalled talent for argument and effective presentation was early shown in the "Reply to the Letter of Cardinal Sadoleto." He took great pains with the arrangement of topics. The repeated revisions of the *Institute* brought some new matter and further elaboration; but most clearly they evince the author's constant effort to perfect the arrangement, the general lucid composition of the work.

[23] See generally all French works upon the literature of this period, e.g., Lanson, Brunetière, Faguet.

The power of argument, the power of style, both were the man: the moving energies were a sense of the overwhelming primacy of God, faith in God's purposes, and a conviction of the loving nature of those purposes as to the elect, among whom of a surety was this vessel of divine truth, John Calvin. The power which reliance upon God has imparted to chosen men, becomes irresistible when increased through the devoted religious sense that the ineffable Will is enough for man—yea, though He slay me! Assurance of his own salvation may steel the martyr's heart, or the soldier's arm. But conviction of God's absolute worth and sufficiency for men, devotion to His Honor and His glory, rather than interest in the individual's salvation, is needful for the inspired religious leader. This devotion was possessed by Calvin, who felt and knew that the chief end of man was not his soul's salvation, but to know and glorify God.[24]

These were perhaps the most personal and intimate elements of the power entering the composition of the *Institute*. Around and about and behind them was the fund of the opinions, knowledge, and convictions belonging to the Reformers in France and Germany and Switzerland. There was no part of Calvin and his work that was not affected and made possible by this fund of antecedent Protestant knowledge and opinion.

Of the great books which have exerted enormous influence, the *Christian Institute* of Calvin contains a minimum of strictly speaking original thought. In a way, all books of Christian theology are based on Scripture interpreted reasonably or fantastically. The *Institute* was founded on Scripture rationally and acutely interpreted. But here, less learnedly, Luther preceded Calvin. Doctrinally the mighty antecedent of the *Christian Institute* was that man of prodigious doctrinal originality, the Apostle Paul. Augustine, in his further elaborations, is

24 Again, see the *Reply to Sadoleto;* and Bonnet, o. c. II, pp 164 and 203.

the next antecedent of Calvin's book. The *Christian Institute* is Paul and Augustine absorbed by a man of living power, and re-endowed with life through restatement and adaptation to the sixteenth century. Calvin added little to Paul and Augustine doctrinally, but much institutionally as it were, through his constructive faculty of civic and church organization.

The *Institute* is indebted to other Fathers of the Church, and may draw on them by name. Naturally it has absorbed the Nicene formulation of dogma; and is thus fundamentally orthodox. Its debt to the mediaeval schoolmen is less evident, less conscious. But Calvin knew Peter Lombard, Bernard and Aquinas; Duns Scotus affects his conception of the will as the primary element of the divine nature. The *Christian Institute* is by no means an unscholastic work. Calvin and other great reformers of his epoch strove to re-establish what they conceived to be the teaching of the New Testament and the early Church; but they had neither the will nor the power to shake themselves out of the assumptions, the modes of thinking and argumentation, which constituted a large part of their normal mental processes.

The very idea of the *Institute* as a summary of Christian doctrine reverts to the *Sentences* of the Lombard and the *Summa Theologiae* of Aquinas. But as the name *Institute* implies and as Calvin says explicitly,[25] it was a work of elementary instruction, "une clef et ouverture pour donner accès à tous enfans de Dieu, à bien et droictement entendre l'Escriture saincte," and not a comprehensive Summa of whatever could be enfolded beneath the wings of *sacra doctrina*. Calvin's work has nothing to do with the "ancillary sciences," and so far as possible eschews the metaphysics of theology, all of which were dear to Thomas, and had place in his great *Summa*.

It is interesting to compare the arrangement of the two

25 E.g. at the opening of the Epistle to the King in the "Argument" to the French edition of 1541.

books. The *Summa* of Aquinas follows what one may regard as the natural order of presentation of the Christian matter, which had practically been followed by Peter Lombard, and is indicated in Augustine's Commentary on Genesis: i. e. God, His unity and trinity, the creation of the world, man, his fall, the Incarnation as the restoring means of his salvation, the Sacraments and the final Judgment.[26] To a considerable extent, especially in his final edition of 1559, Calvin follows the same order.[27] Thus in Book I of that edition, he treats of God, and of the nature of Christ and the Holy Spirit, and so of the doctrine of the Trinity, in substantially the order of Thomas; and, in the same order, he takes up the Angels and the creation of man, body and soul. With Book II comes the Fall of Man and the Incarnation, and, in fine, the saving work of Christ. This matter is continued through Books III and IV, concluding with a treatment of the Church and Sacraments.[28] Thus the order which Calvin adopted in his final revision was, in skeleton, the order followed in the *Summa*. The resemblance becomes less obvious when perusing the substance of the work, because

26 Cf. *The Mediaeval Mind,* Vol. II, p. 352 sqq.

27 It will not be necessary, either for this or for our other purposes, to discuss the numerous editions of the *Institute* as revised by the author and published in his lifetime. Suffice it to say that in 1539 he published a revised and somewhat enlarged edition, and in 1541 what was substantially a French translation of the same; it is this edition of 1541 that should be read as a monument of French. Calvin continued to revise and republish until, in 1559 he published what must be taken as the final and standard edition divided into four books, in which the work was rearranged and much enlarged. In 1560 this edition appeared in a French translation made by Calvin or under his direction. See the *Prolegomena* to Vol. I and the *Introduction* to Vol. III of the Strasbourg edition of the *Opera* (1863 sqq.) and the *Introduction* by A. Lefranc to the French edition of 1541 (Ecole des Hautes Etudes, 176-177). Among the Reformers, Calvin's *Institute* had been preceded by Melanchthon's *Loci Communes,* by Zwingli's *Commentaries,* and Farel's *Sommaire brieve,* all designed as Compendia of the reformed religion.

28 There is one last chapter on Civil Government.

of the different stress laid by Calvin on his topics. Where he finds himself in harmony with the Church of all the centuries, he speaks briefly. Thus in treating the fundamental dogma of the Trinity, he avoids its metaphysics, gives a plain discussion of the Scriptural testimony to its truth, and reaches an orthodox conclusion.[29] On the other hand, in treating of the redemptive work of Christ and the believer's faith in Him, in Book III, he greatly enlarges the controversial topics of justification by faith and the divine election to salvation or damnation; while in Book IV, his treatment of the Church and its Sacraments, though falling in its proper order, becomes largely a polemic against the Papacy and the Mass, which naturally had no place in the *Summa* of Aquinas.

Like the personality of which it was the expression, the *Christian Institute* grew and developed, and yet in many respects remained the same from the first to the last edition. Its temper, its point of view, its attitude toward God and man, its human quality, was unchanged; but its doctrinal expositions were elaborated and made more sheer and ineluctable; while the author's accumulations of experience as well as learning, Christian and profane, contributed to swell the book. Calvin's personality seems to project most saliently from the French edition of 1541. That, with the Latin of 1539 on which it was based, had been thoughtfully revised from the first draft of 1536, but was not yet overlaid with the learned argumentation which serves to veil the man Calvin from the would-be twentieth century appreciator. We have already drawn upon that powerful French version for his letter to the King, and may advantageously continue with it for the body of the book, still giving brief extracts in Calvin's nervous French, so far as they seem readily comprehensible.

The prefatory Argument points out that although Holy

[29] It is in Chapter IV of the 1541 edition, say pp. 217-234. It is somewhat enlarged in the 1559 edition, where it makes Chapter XIII of Book I.

Scripture contains "une doctrine parfaicte, à laquelle on ne peut rien adjouster [ajouter],[30] nevertheless the untrained man needs guidance through it; those who have received "plus ample lumiere de Dieu," [31] may lend the hand "pour les conduire et les ayder à trouver la somme de ce que Dieu nous a voula enseigner en sa parolle."[32] One notes here a point in Calvin's position: the Bible is for all, but there is need of guidance from those who have received more light from God: "à ceste fin j'ay composé ce present livre," [33] which shall be a key to a right understanding of Scripture for all the children of God. And since we should recognize that all truth proceeds from God,—"j'oseray hardiment protester, en simplicité, ce que je pense de cest oeuvre, le recognoissant estre de Dieu, plus que mien." [34] Let God have the praise, for His is the work, this work of Calvin's which he does not hesitate to exhort everyone to read diligently if they would have "une somme de la doctrine Chrestienne, puis une entrée a bien proffiter en la lecture tant du vieil que du nouveau Testament." [35] Having done that, they will know "par experience" that I have spoken advisedly. "Si quelqu'un ne peut comprendre tout le contenu, il ne fault pas qu'il se desespere pourtant: mais qu'il marche tousjours oultre, esperant qu'un passage luy donnera plus familierement exposition de l'autre. Sur toutes choses, il fauldra avoir en recommandation, de recourir à l'Escriture, pour considerer les tesmoignages que j'en allegue." [36]

30 "a perfect doctrine, to which nothing can be added."

31 "the greatest light from God . . ."

32 "to lead them and to help them find the sum of that which God wanted to teach in his word."

33 "it is to this end that I have written this book . . ."

34 "I would dare to protest strongly, simply, what I think of this work, the recognized being of God, more than mine."

35 "a summary of Christian doctrine, which then would serve as a profitable introduction to the reading of the Old as well as the New Testament."

36 "If someone cannot understand all the contents, he must not despair yet; but he should always continue reading beyond, in the

Here is a further disclosure of Calvin's attitude: Let all read his book for guidance, and prove it, each for himself, from the passages of Scripture which it cites. This indeed is Calvinism, or individual judgment exercised under wise, i. e., Calvin's direction. Independence and guidance are not easy to reconcile, yet they must be joined by those who would escape the Charybdis of Romanism and the Scylla of the Anabaptists.[37]

What would I know, cries Augustine, but God and the Soul?—quite enough! Says Calvin, opening his treatise: [38] The sum of all our wisdom falls into two parts, knowledge of God and of ourselves. The first shows that there is one God whom all should honor and worship, "la fonteine de toute verité, sapience, bonté, justice, jugement, misericorde, puissance, et saincteté," [39]—from whom we should expect and ask all these things. The second, by showing us our weakness, misery and wickedness, brings us to mistrust and hate ourselves, and kindles in us a desire to seek God, since all our good (bien) lies in him, while in ourselves we find a world of misery.

Augustine echoes through the opening of the *Institute*; which passes on to point out the correlations between knowledge of God and of ourselves: through the consciousness of our vanity and wretchedness, we recognize His truth and wisdom, and every excellence we lack. We are thus drawn and as it were led by the hand to find

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hope that one passage will give him a more familiar explanation of the other. Above all things, it must be kept in mind to resort to the Scriptures to consider the testimony I allege."

37 As to the limits to a proper consideration of the profundities of Scripture, Calvin says that we should keep to the statements of the text, and not probe unrevealed mysteries, and should also study Scripture for our edification and not to satisfy curiosity. Bk. I, 14, 4, of 1559 edition, the passage practically the same as in prior editions.

38 When not quoting the French, I do not translate Calvin in full, but abbreviate the substance.

39 "the fountain of all truth, knowledge, goodness, justice, judgment, mercy, power, and holiness . . ."

Him.[40] On the other hand, man comes to a true abasement and knowledge of himself only through contemplation of the wisdom and might and purity of God. And in order that no one may plead a pretended ignorance, some perception of divinity is implanted in the mind through natural inclination.

Calvin's emphasis is upon the greatness and righteousness and the sovereignty of God. Nothing has been said thus far of love between God and man. Man's life should be unbroken obedience to God's will, since men are His creatures, and He is the source of every good. Instead, the perversity of man seeks to appease Him with "quelques petites satisfactions. Au lieu qu'il luy faillot complaire en saincteté et innocence de coeur, nous forgeons je ne scay quelz fatras et ceremonies de neant, esperant l'amuser." [41]

How much of Calvin and of the gist of his indictment of the Roman Church is in this sentence! Oh! let man beware of that misknowledge of God which comes from fashioning Him after our image; which the "coeur fidele" will not do, but will be content to have Him such as He manifests Himself, beholding Him upon His throne as a just Judge, "lequel fera une fois rude vengeance sur tous transgresseurs," [42] and to the good, will give eternal life. This faithful heart will be moved not by fear alone to keep from sin: "mais d'autant qu'il l'ayme et revere comme son pere, et le craint comme son Seigneur, mesmes quand il n'y auroit nul enfer, si ha-il horreur de l'offencer." [43] This

[40] The French is "mené par la main à le trouver," while the Latin text of 1539 has "quasi manu ducitur,"—the verb *manuducere* so frequent in Aquinas.

[41] "some small retribution. Instead of pleasing Him with sanctity and innocence of heart, we forge I know not what jumble and ceremonies of nothingness, hoping to amuse Him."

[42] "who will one day take harsh vengeance on all transgressors . . ."

[43] "but as long as he loves and reveres Him as his Father, and fears Him as his Lord, even if there were no hell, and is horrified at offending Him.

is true religion, faith joined with that fear of God which includes delight in the righteousness of His law and reverence freely offered to His majesty. Since we are all born to know God, and the knowledge which lacks such delight and reverence is vain, manifestly those who do not address to this end the thoughts and actions of their lives, fall away from the purpose of their creation.

So Calvin makes his point and clinches it, and then confirms it with testimony from pagan philosophers. He declares in fitting, but not novel terms, that God has graven upon "chacun de ses oeuvres certains signes de sa majesté, par lesquelz il se donne à cognoistre à nous selon nostre petite capacité." [44] Thus, though His essence remain hidden, we perceive His virtue in His works. Nor did He omit to communicate by word and vision with His chosen people. And though new oracles no longer come to us from heaven, we have Scripture "en laquelle il a pleu à Dieu de coucher sa verité à eternelle memoire." [45] We must consider this question, why Scripture has "mesme authorité envers les fideles, que pourroit avoir la voix ouye de la propre bouche de Dieu." [46] Whereupon Calvin begins his argument to show that Scripture rather than the Church is the final authority for Christians. Some ask how we could know that Scripture is from God, unless the Church declared it? On the contrary, the authority of Scripture is founded on the "tesmoinage interieur du Sainct Esprit. Car jacoit [quoique] qu'en sa propre majesté elle [Scripture] ait assez dequoy estre reverée, neantmoins elle nous commence lors à nous vrayement toucher, quand elle est séellée en noz coeurs par le Sainct Esprit." Thus enlight-

44 "each one of his works certain signs of his majesty, through which he lets himself be known to us according to our limited capacities."

45 "in which it has pleased God to lay down his truth to eternal memory."

46 "authority even over those faithful who could have heard the voice from the very mouth of God."

ened, we do not rely on the judgment of ourselves or others for the assurance that Scripture is from God; "mais par dessus tout jugement humain nous arrestons indubitablement, qu'elle nous a esté donnée de la propre bouche de Dieu, par le ministre des hommes: tout ainsi que si nous contemplions à l'oeil l'Essence de Dieu en icelle."

Strong words! This is the height of Calvin's argument for his assured reliance upon Scripture—the testimony of the Holy Spirit in our hearts. In the light of that, the excellences of Scripture reveal themselves more strongly in corroboration; for instance, its divine simplicity which uses no artifice beyond truth, so different from Demosthenes or Cicero or Plato, as to whom, says Calvin, "je confesse bien qu'ilz attireront mervielleusement, et delecteront, et esmouveront jusques à ravir mesmes l'esprit."

On the other hand, the consensus of the Church "n'est pas sans importance"; and the witness of so many holy men who have given the testimony of their blood. Beware of such as would lead astray with individual imaginings and alleged inspirations. It is not the office of the Holy Spirit "de songer nouvelles revelations . . . ou forger nouvelle espece de doctrine, pour nous retirer de la doctrine de l'Evangile, apres l'avoir une fois receu. Mais plustost de séeler . . . en noz coeurs la doctrine qui nous est dispensée par l'Evangile. . . ." Thus would Calvin warn off vagaries (as of the Anabaptists if one will) and bring all men back to the sure foundation of the Gospel truly and simply understood, as by Calvin.

The second chapter of the French edition of 1541 opens with a reference to an ancient proverb advising man to know himself—indeed the lack of self-knowledge is disgraceful. But the old philosophers wrongly sought through self-knowledge to enhance the dignity of man; we should seek it that we may humbly realize our misery and weakness. Gladly men hear good of themselves, and would fain believe in their ability to live well and happily. The more modest concede something to God, while retaining for themselves the better part of wisdom and virtue. Who-

ever will exalt human nature is most welcome everywhere. All this is fatal self-deception.

Although God's truth and human judgments agree that our best wisdom is self-knowledge, they differ as to the way of knowing. After the opinion of the flesh, man seems to know himself when, relying on his understanding and virtue, he sets out to do his duty. But he who looks to the standard of God's judgment finds in himself no hope, nor anything by which to order his life. There is indeed some seed of nobility in our nature, for we cannot think of our origin or end and not be spurred to consider and desire the immortality of the Kingdom of God. But this should humiliate us. For what is our origin but that from which we have fallen? And what is our end but that from which we have turned away? There is nothing but to groan and sigh for our lost dignity.

It is well to know how man was first created, before we consider his vices; lest we be led to impute them to the Author of his nature. So Calvin sets himself to this great factitious problem of Christian doctrine. And what sentences he contributes, contending against this slander upon God:—

> "Attendu donc que nous voyons la chair desirer tous eschappatoires, [loopholes] par lesquelz elle pense la coulpe de ses vices pouvoir estre transferée allieurs: il fault obvier à ceste malice. Il est donc besoing de traicter tellement la calamité du genre humain, que nous couppions la broche à toutes tergiversations de nostre chair; et que la justice du Seigneur soit delivrée, non seulement d'accusation, mais aussi de toute reproche et murmure. Neant moins que cela se face en telle sorte, que nous ne declinions point de la pure verité." [47]

[47] "Waiting then we see flesh desiring all loopholes through which it thinks of transferring elsewhere the guilt of its vices; it is necessary to overlook this malice. It is then necessary to treat the calamity of mankind in such a way as to cut the link to all the transgressions of the flesh; and that the justice of the Lord be

It is certain that our father Adam was created a participant in the divine wisdom, righteousness, virtue, holiness and truth. By his ingratitude he effaced the divine image which he bore; and ignorance, weakness, filth, vanity and injustice took the place of those qualities in him and in his descendants, born like unto him, infected with his pollution. Here Calvin pauses, with Augustine, to thrash the beastly Pelagians who held that this original sin was transmitted by imitation, and not through generation. It is enough for us to know, that as God set good gifts in Adam not for himself alone, but for all human nature; so when Adam lost them, he lost them for us all. And with clear conviction Calvin declared original sin to be "une corruption et perversité hereditaire de nostre nature, laquelle nous faict coulpables, premierement de l'ire de Dieu, puis apres produit en nous les oeuvres, que l'Escriture appelle oeuvres de la chair: . . . adultaires, paillardises, larcins, haynes, meutres, et gourmandises," [48]—the list taken from Paul. With gathering power of demonstration, following the good Augustine, he shows this corruption penetrating our entire nature, becoming our very selves:

> "nostre nature n'est seulement vuide et destitutée de tous biens; mais elle est tellement fertille en tout espece de mal, qu'elle ne peut estre oysive . . . C'est que toutes les parties de l'homme, depuis l'entendement jusques à la volunté, depuis l'ame jusques à la chair, sont souillées et du tout remplies de cette concupiscence, ou bien, pour le faire plus court, que l'homme n'est aultre chose de soymesme que corruption." [49]

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delivered, not only from accusations, but also from all reproach and gossip. Nothing else than that is done in a manner that we do not waver from pure truth."

[48] "a hereditary corruption and perversity of our nature, which makes us guilty, first of God's anger, then it produces in us deeds which the Scriptures call of the flesh: . . . adulteries, lewdnesses, larcenies, hates, murders, and gluttonies" . . .

[49] "Our nature is not only void and destitute of all good; but it is also so fertile in all types of evil, that it cannot be idle. It is

Having thus delivered himself, Calvin considers how far there may remain in man, "environné de misere et necessité," some spark of freedom and desire for good; a topic which leads (as in the *Summa* of Aquinas) to a discussion of the human faculties, according to the philosophers and the Doctors of the Church. With them, the Lombard is cited, and St. Bernard. At the end, Calvin abides in the conviction that the will and understanding are bound in sin and impotence, requiring the "remede de la grace de Dieu, par laquelle nostre vicieuse est corrigée." [50] Grace is not bestowed on all men, nor, when given to one, is it bestowed because of the merit of his will, but through the free gift of God, whose justice may also withhold it. And Calvin agrees with Augustine "que la volunté humaine n'obtient point grace par sa liberté, mais obtient liberté par la grace de Dieu." [51] He follows the great Father's presentation of the further offices of grace in reforming and strengthening the will; discusses points of view from which grace may be regarded, and with much argument shows the falsity of the Pelagian view of human liberty and merit, and upholds the position of Augustine. In opposition to an adverse interpretation of the parable of the man who fell among thieves, he makes the sound remark touching allegorical interpretation: "Les alegories ne doibvent estre receuës, si non d'autant qu'elles sont fondées en l'Escriture." [52] For himself he will admit that the human soul has some knowledge of good and evil, and some notion that there is a God,

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that all the parts of man, from his understanding to his will, from his soul to the flesh, are soiled and entirely full of this concupiscence, or rather, to make it short, that man is nothing more than corruption."

50 "remedy of the grace of God, through which our vicious nature is corrected."

51 "that human will receives no grace through its liberty, but obtains its liberty through the grace of God."

52 "Allegories ought not to be received unless they are founded on the Scriptures."

though it does not know him aright. Nothing impugns the conclusions of Saint Augustine:

> "C'est que les dons gratuitz, qui appartennent à salut, on esté ostez à l'homme apres sa cheute; que les dons naturelz, qui ne le peuvent conduire à salut, ont esté corrompus et pollus . . . que l'entendement de l'homme est tellement du tout aliené de la justice de Dieu, qu'il ne peut rièn imaginer, concevoir, ne comprendre, sinon toute meschanceté, et corruption. Semblablement que son coeur est tant envenimé de peché, qu'il ne peut produire que toute perversité. Et s'il advient qu'il en sorte quelque chose, qui ait apparence de bien, neantmoins que l'entendement demeure tousjours envelopé en vanité, le coeur adonné à tante malice." [53]

Chapter III is devoted to God's "Loy escrite," given as a more certain witness to what had become obscured in the "loy naturelle." In this law God discloses Himself as a God of righteousness. "Mais le Seigneur, non content d'avoir monstré, en quelle reverence nous devons avoir sa justice, à fin aussi d'adonner noz coeurs à l'amour d'icelle et haine d'iniquité, il adjoinct des promesses et menaces." [54] By threats and promises, God incites love of righteousness in the hearts of the faithful—according to Calvin.

[53] "The free gifts, which belong to health, were taken away from man after his fall; the natural gifts, which cannot lead him to health, have been corrupted and polluted . . . man's understanding is so entirely alienated from the justice of God, that he cannot imagine, conceive, or understand anything but wickedness, iniquity, and corruption. Seemingly his heart is so poisoned with sin, that he can produce only perversity. And if he realizes that he by chance has something which has the appearance of good, his understanding nevertheless is always enveloped in vanity, his heart given so much to malice."

[54] "But the Lord, not satisfied of having shown the reverence in which we must hold his justice, with the aim also of giving our hearts to love of righteousness and hate of iniquity, adjoins promises and threats."

Passing over this chapter, in which the Ten Commandments are treated at length, we come to chapter IV, *De la Foy, où le Symbole des Apostres est explicqué.* Calvin accepts the Pauline view; since we cannot fulfill the Law, our only way to escape rejection is through God's compassion, which we must receive in firm Faith, and rely upon in certain hope. He will consider the nature of the Faith through which *the chosen children* of God enter His Kingdom. It is not the "credulité vulgaire" with which one assents to the statements of the Gospel. That such suffices is a pernicious opinion taught by the "Sophistes et Sorbonistes," who also add "je ne scay quelle distinction frivole de la foy formée et informe," a distinction, by the way, not lightly treated by the great Aquinas, whom Calvin does not mention here. For faith we must turn to the Word of God, which is faith's end and object, the mirror where it beholds and contemplates God, and seeks and trusts His will, gaining a knowledge of His compassion, in which the heart of man, touched by grace, may indubitably repose. And Calvin gives as the "pleine" definition of faith: "une ferme et certaine cognoissance de la bonne volunté de Dieu envers nous: laquelle estant fondée sur la promesse gratuite donnée en Jesus Christ, est revelée à nostre entendement, et scellée en nostre coeur par le Sainct Esprit." If Calvin had not thus kept his discussion austere and intellectual, carefully avoiding the word "love," he would have come closer to the *fides formata* of Aquinas.[55] Calvin's faith is an intellectual certitude. "Certes la Foy ne gist point en ignorance; mais en cognoissance"; and it does not lie in reverence for the Church. He passes on to discuss each phrase of his definition, and next takes up the successive clauses of the Apostles' Creed.

In the fifth chapter Calvin turns to the subject of *Penitence,* which not only "est conjoincte à la Foy, mais aussi en est engendrée." He is scandalized at "the fasts and other things" by which the monks and schoolmen, with

[55] Cf. *The Mediaeval Mind,* Vol. II, p. 510.

Peter Lombard, their captain, have stuffed their books. And he launches a grand attack on the likewise time-honored Purgatory, which is but a fiction of Satan, built of blasphemies against the full and sufficient sacrifice made by Christ. Other reformers had been silent here;

> "Mais quand la purgation des pechéz se cerche aillieurs qu'en Christ, quand la satisfaction est transferrée autre part, qu' à luy, il est dangereux de se taire. Il fault donc cryer à haulte voix, que purgatoire est une fiction pernicieuse de Sathan; laquelle faict un opprobre trop grand à la misericorde de Dieu, aneantit la croix de Christ, dissipe et subvertit nostre foy. Car qu'est-ce que leur est purgatoire, sinon une peine que souffrent les â mesdes trespassez, en satisfaction de leur pechez? Tellement que si on oste la phantasie de satisfaire, leur purgatoire s'en va bas. Or si de ce que nous avons par cy devant disputé, il est faict plus que manifeste que le sang de Christ est une seule purgation, oblation, et satisfaction pour les pechez de fideles, que reste-il plus sinon que le purgatoire soit un pur et horrible blasphesme contre Jesus Christ?" [56]

Perhaps Calvin never showed more boldly his clear consistency of reason than in this hazardous attack upon the doctrine of Purgatory, so dear and so natural to the stumbling faith of those who know themselves unfit for heaven.

The sixth chapter takes up the cardinal topic, Justifica-

56 "But when purging of sins is sought elsewhere than in Christ, when atonement is transferred to another than He, it is dangerous to keep quiet. One must therefore, cry in a loud voice that purgatory is a pernicious fiction of Satan; which makes too big an opprobrium of God's pity, annihilating Christ's cross, dissipating and subverting our faith. For what is purgatory to them if not a penalty the souls of the dead suffer in payment of their sins? So much that if one removes the fantasy of atonement, their purgatory collapses. Now if from that which we have above discussed, it is more than manifested that the blood of Christ is the only one purgation, obliteration, and payment for the sins of the faithful. what does purgatory become but a pure and horrible blasphemy against Jesus Christ?"

tion by Faith and the merits of works. "le principal article de la religion Chrestienne." We need not follow Calvin through his elaboration of the favorite theme of the Reform. His position is defined in an opening sentence: Since most men imagine a mixed righteousness of faith and works—"imaginent une justice meslée de la Foy et des oeuvres, monstrons aussi, devant que passer oultre, que la justice de Foy [the righteousness of or through Faith] differe tellement de celle des oeuvres, que si l'une est establie, l'autre est renversée." [57] This assuredly is Paul, and this is Calvin. And at the end of the long chapter we note the conclusion of the argument whereby one who has been guilty of the breach of any one command is worthy of death,—"entant qu'il a offensé la majesté de Dieu," [58] he is guilty of them all. The righteousness by works—"la justice des oeuvres est une parfaicte obeyssance de la Loy . . . une observation entiere et consommée de la volunte de Dieu." [59] Obviously impossible: hence there can be no righteousness, no justification, through works. This is the Pauline conclusion, not easy for every stomach to digest.

Passing over the next chapter, in which polemically, and with scholastic narrowness, Calvin discusses the difference between the Old and New Testaments, we reach another pillar of his system, Predestination, a doctrine in its twofold terror unto salvation or damnation, necessitated by God's foreknowledge of the Fall of Man with its entailment of corruption, and the justification, through Faith, of the elect.[60] So long as election unto salvation, with Paul, with Augustine, was accepted, to flinch before the

57 "imagining a justice mixed with Faith and deeds, we show also, before passing another, that the righteousness of Faith differs so from that of deeds, that if one is established, the other is upset."

58 "so long as he has offended the majesty of God . . ."

59 "the justice of works is a perfect obedience of the Law . . . a complete and entire observation of the will of God."

60 One queries just when this doctrine of the double predestination seized upon Calvin. There is next to nothing about it in the *Institute* of 1536, while it is full fledged in the editions of 1539 and 1541.

converse election of the rest of men to hell was but an amiable weakness unjustified by the logic of the situation. And to-day in an age when science will not blench before the grim facts of the natural world, and recognizes the equal grimness of human social fact, we need not stammer over this theology, which seems to reflect the ways of nature, and present a divine analogue to the teeth and fangs of life. And even as to election, predestination, why go back to Eden and the Fall of Man? We see election in ourselves and those about us, rich and poor, the gifted and degenerate, saints and criminals. Did they make their characters, their faculties, their circumstances, which raise or damn them? Is there not a surfeit of election here? And of the double predestination to heaven and hell, so far as concerns this world? Yet—here we stammer—the good man or the wise man steers his life through perils which are seen and through others utterly unseen by him. Whether his barque is wrecked or not, seems chance; and yet somehow he steers.

Calvin did not stammer; but, with unamiable logic, accepted the double predestination of mankind to heaven and hell, according to the good pleasure and righteous will of God. He acknowledged predestination to be a difficult matter, easily obscured. Let faithful inquirers be admonished, and first of all remember that when they "enquierent de la predestination, ils entrent au Sanctuaire de la sagesse divine." The overbold and curious will find it a labyrinth with no escape. "Les secretz de sa [God's] volunté, qu'il a pensé estre bon de nous communiquer, il nous les a testifiez en sa parolle—la voye unique, la seule lumiere" to conduct us through what it is allowed us to discern of this deep matter: "sortiz des limites de l'Escriture, nous cheminerons hors du chemin et en tenebres." We need have no shame "d'ignorer quelque chose en ceste matiere, où il y a quelque ignorance plus docte que le scavoir"—the last phrase reminiscent of Nicholas of Cusa. But, continues Calvin very finely,

"Il fault donc garder, d'empescher les fideles d'enquerir ce qui est contenu en l'Escriture, de la predestination à fin qu'il ne semble, ou que nous les veuillions frauder du bien que Dieu leur communiqué, ou que nous veuillions arguer le sainct Esprit, comme s'il avoit publié les choses, qu'il estoit bon de supprimer. Permettons donc à l'homme Chrestien d'ouvrir les aureilles et l'entendement à toute la doctrine qui luy est addressée de Dieu; moyennant qu'il grade tousjours ceste temperance, que quand il voirra la sacrée bouche de Dieu fermée, il se ferme aussi le chemin d'enquerir." [61]

And much more follows which in its power and narrowness may recall Milton:—even as in his language this same Calvin reminds us of his stylistic child Pascal: "La vie humaine est environnée, et quasi assiegée de miseres infinies." Might that not have fallen from the immortal *Pensées?*

He excels in definitions in this chapter. For instance: "nous appelons Predestination le conseil eternel de Dieu par lequel il a determiné ce qu'il vouloit faire d'un chascun homme. Car il ne les créé pas tous en pareille condition: mais ordonne les uns à vie eternelle les autres à eternelle damnation. Ainsi selon la fin à laquelle est créé l'homme, nous disons qu'il est predestiné à mort ou à vie." Naturally his argument follows Augustine; and he passes through the deep waters of God's will covering murder and rapine, and wrestles with the equally difficult problem,

61 "It is necessary, therefore, to take care not to prevent the faithful from inquiring into the contents of the Scriptures on predestination so that it should not seem that we want to cheat them of the right that God communicates to them, or that we want to argue with the Holy Ghost, as if he had published the things which it would be well to suppress. Let us permit Christians to open their ears and their understanding to all doctrine which God addresses to them; on condition that they keep always this temperance, that on seeing the sacred mouth of God closed, they will also close the road of inquiry."

why men should plan and pray and strive, seeing that everything in their lives is predestined. Even Calvin cannot make this quite clear;—there are limits to the consistency of every thinker. But practically and religiously, he transforms predestination into trust in God; which indeed had been Calvin's rock before he laid hold upon predestination. To him and his followers had come the power of those who know that no harm can break the guard of God's protection. Their courage, their energy, their strength, were doubled through faith in God's purposes with them,—and with their evil enemies! The Lord is my helper! True it is, as Calvin says, and ought to know, that the doctrine of predestination neither shakes nor troubles faith, but strengthens it, at least, for men of faith and power.

This is abundantly confirmed by the next chapter upon Prayer. Beautifully the opening paragraph declares that, knowing his own impotence, man if he would have succour in his need, should seek it beyond himself. How generously has God given us of Himself in his son Jesus Christ; through him offering us happiness for our misery, and riches for our poverty: to the end that our Faith shall look to His dear Son, and our strength and hope repose in Him. "Ceste est une secrete, occulte, et cachée philosophie, laquelle ne se peut entendre par syllogismes; mais ceux là comprennent ausquelz nostre Seigneur a ouvert les yeux, à fin que en sa lumiere, ilz voyent clairement." Calvin's heart had its arcana, where logic did not enter: though logic is present with him when in this same chapter he shows that prayer should not be offered to the saints.

The following chapter on the Sacraments is incisive. Only baptism is recognized and the Lord's Supper. A Sacrament is defined as "un signe exterieur, par lequel nostre Seigneur nous represente et testifie sa bonne volunté envers nous, pour soustenir et confermer l'imbecillité de nostre Foy." Calvin goes very far toward utterly rejecting the magic-mystery element, which from the time of the early Church had made the sacraments into life-giving

miracles, regularly administered. He teaches that in the Lord's Supper we are spiritually fed with the body and blood of our Lord, and assured that his body once given for us is ours forever, and that we possess Christ crucified. As for the thorny question, *how* we possess him,—"pensons premierement que c'est une chose spirituelle que la Sacrement; par lequel nostre Seigneur n'a pas voulu repaistre noz ventres, mais noz ames. . . . En somme contentons-nous de l'avoir spirituellement." Calvin rejects transubstantiation, and the actual physical presence of the body of Christ,—thus advancing beyond Luther. Mightily he thunders against the Mass as a sacrifice and oblation: the Saviour offered once and for all a sacrifice upon the cross, the efficacy of which endures forever.

We come to the fourteenth chapter, which Calvin in the edition of 1559 transferred to his discussion of predestination (Book III, ch. XXIV). It sets forth the freedom of the Christian from the servitude of the Law: first, in that the assurance of his Justification rises above the Law and its righteousness; secondly, in that his conscience is not bound by the Law, but, having been delivered from its yoke, freely obeys the will of God; thirdly, in that he will not make external things a matter of conscience before God.

"Or il fault diligement considerer que la liberté Chrestienne en toutes ces parties, est une chose spirituelle: de laquelle toute la force gist à pacifier envers Dieu les consciences timides, soit qu'elles travaillent en doubtant de la remission de leurs pechez, soit qu'elles soient en solicitude et crainte, à scavoir si leurs oeuvres, imparfaictes et souillées des macules de leur chair, sont aggreables à Dieu, soit qu'elles soient incertaines de l'usage des choses indifferentes. Pourtant elle est mal prinse de ceux, ou qui en veulent colorer leur cupidité charnelle pour abuser des dons de Dieu à leur volupté; ou qui pensent ne l'avoir point, s'ilz ne l'usurpent devant

les hommes; et pourtant en l'usage d'icelle ilz n'ont nul esgard à leurs freres infirmes." [62]

All of which is excellent Pauline teaching.

Such freedom would seem to be made vain by subjection to men. Yet to set ourselves above human laws would cause much evil. One must therefore distinguish between what is spiritual, belonging to the things of God, and what is political or civil; the first pertaining to the life of the soul, the second to the present life, enabling men to live justly and decently, and having to do with "meurs exterieures." Such are the respective functions of these two, "l'une Royaume spirituel, et l'autre Civil on politicq."

Calvin argued doughtily throughout his life upon the distinctness of Church and State; yet his policy sought to unite them in the common service of God. He drew something from the constitution and history of Geneva, where bishopric and town had the same boundaries, and the functions of one and the other overlapped. But in maintaining the liberty of the Church, he tended to superimpose its authority upon the State. If both Church and State unite in their object of right belief and conduct, and both have God as their lawgiver and sovereign, the Church, being concerned with the immortal soul, is superior to the State, which more immediately administers temporal affairs. Thus the Calvinistic religious element tends, if not to dominate politics, at all events to direct them. At the same time the possibly opposing presence of two organisms

62 "Now, it must be diligently considered that Christian liberty in all its aspects is a spiritual thing: whose whole force lies in pacifying towards God all timid consciences, whether they labor under the doubt of the remission of their sins, whether they are anxious or afraid, knowing their deeds, imperfect and soiled by blemishes of their flesh, are agreeable to God, whether they are uncertain of the usage of indifferent things. Yet it is badly taken by those who wish to color their carnal cupidity by abusing the gifts of God to their pleasure; or those who think of not having it, if they do not usurp it before men; and yet in the usage of it have no regard for their sick brethren."

exerted reciprocal restraint, and tended to prevent the tyranny of either. In their righteous union of purpose, and restraint upon the abuses or usurpations on the part of either, the Calvinistic Church and State promoted the development of civic liberty and function in those who were members as much of one as of the other. The weapon of the Church was disapproval, censure, excommunication in the end, which cut off the recalcitrant civilian from all that he respected. On the other hand, the actual application of physical punishment, constraint, or banishment or death, was with the State, and might be brought to bear even upon the too intolerable ministers of the Word.

Calvin conceived the Church to consist of all the elect of God, the dead, the living and the yet unborn. It is one, inasmuch as Christ cannot be divided; and no one is saved who is not a member of it. It implies "the Communion of the Saints," inasmuch as those who are one in the fellowship of Christ, impart to each other the divers spiritual gifts bestowed on them by God. The marks of the Church are the preaching of the Word of God and the administration of the Sacraments through its ministers, and the mode of life, *vitae exemplum,* shown by those who are truly its members. Its visible and efficient union is preserved by its chosen ministers, whose election properly issues from the people and is sanctioned by the approval of those who are already ministers. Visibly organized in this manner, each church has charge over the conduct of its members, and authority to reprove and excommunicate, whereby it warns the member of his final condemnation before God. The purpose of excommunication is that those who lead scandalous and wicked lives shall not be counted among Christians, and corrupt the good; but rather that they be turned to repentance.

This true and universal church exercising its due authority, is to be distinguished from the Papacy and its corruption of ecclesiastical power; which Calvin characterizes in his fifteenth chapter, *De la Puissance Ecclesias-*

tique." [63] The usurpations of the Roman Church would "imposer necessité aux consciences, ez choses desquelles elles sont affranchies par Jesus Christ." [64] That Church has succeeded to the tyranny of the Law. "Il fault qu'elles [the consciences of Christians] recongnoissent pour leur Roy un seul Christ leur Liberateur et qu'elles soyent gouvernées par la seule Loy de liberté, qui est la sacré parolle de l'Evangile, si elles veulent retenir la grace qu'elles ont une fois obtenue en Jesus Christ. Et qu'elles ne soyent assubjecties à servitude aucune." [65] So Calvin would hold his church and people free from those burdens which St. Paul said should not be laid on men's consciences. He would reject "toutes les constitutions qui sont aujourd'huy nommées ecclesiastiques." [66] Authority is granted to the Church as St. Paul says, for edification, not for destruction. And Calvin denounces the usurpations of power to make new articles of faith and assert for the Church and its tradition an authority equal or superior to Scripture. The tyranny of human traditions lays such inventions falsely on the Church, and causes it to transgress the command of God.

In chapter XVI, *Du Gouvernement Civil,* Calvin turns to that authority whose function is the administration of civil justice, decency and order. There are those who when they hear of a liberty assured in Christ, think they have no fruit of it so long as they see any authority set over them; they would alter the world, and abolish laws and magistrates, by whom they deem their liberty im-

63 Here we return to the French edition of 1541. In the last two or three pages we have drawn from the edition of 1559.

64 "impose necessities on the conscience, and things from which they are delivered by Jesus Christ."

65 "It is necessary that the conscience of Christians recognize as their King one single Christ their Liberator and that they be governed by the only Law of liberty, which is the sacred word of the Gospel, if they want to retain the grace they once obtained in Jesus Christ. And they should not be subjected to any kind of slavery."

66 "all constitutions which are today called ecclesiastic."

pugned. "Mais celui qui scaura discerner entre le corps et l'ame, entre ceste presente vie transitoire, et la vie advenir, qui est eternelle, il entendra pareillement assez clairement, que le Royaume spirituel de Christ, et l'ordonnance civile, sont choses fort differentes." [67] The latter has nothing to do with the Kingdom of Heaven, and would be needless there. Its purpose—"le but de ce regime temporal est, de nous fere conformer à la campaignie des hommes, pour le temps qu'avons à vivre entre les hommes; d'instituer noz meurs à une justice civile; de nous accorder les uns avec les autres; d'entretenir et conserver une paix et tranquilité commune." [68] Therefore, following the example of Christ, we should have respect for magistrates, who are made protectors of public tranquillity and decency, and the common peace and safety. Further, the tributes and imposts set by princes are their legitimate revenue, which they should use for the maintenance of the State. We should obey the laws, and recognize even wicked kings and rulers, and obey them so long as we do not thereby disobey God. The Lord is King of Kings: "Nous devons puis après estre subjectz aux hommes qui ont preeminence sur nous; mais non autrement sinon en luy [Christ]." [69] An enormous and elastic reservation this, as the Roman world had learned from the early Church, and as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were also to learn, with much spilling of blood.[70]

[67] "But who will know how to discern between the body and the soul, between this present transitory life and the life of the future, will equally understand clearly enough that the spiritual Kingdom of Christ and the civil order are very different things."

[68] "the purpose of this temporal regime is to make us conform to the company of men, for the time that we have to live among men; of subjecting our mores to a civil justice; of putting us in agreement with each other; of maintaining peace and tranquility."

[69] "We must then after be subjected to men who are superior to us; but not superior to Him [Christ]."

[70] Paul F. M. Mealy, *Les Publicists de la Réforme* (Paris, 1903), gives the political ideas of the French reformers after Calvin, showing their departure from his quasi-pacific doctrines. After

In his last chapter, *De la Vie Chrestienne,* Calvin sets the general rule, that we should imitate Christ, and show forth his image in our lives. If we cannot be perfect, we should strive to "tendre à la perfection que Dieu nous commande." It is a chapter of Christian morals and piety, suited to a time of stress and tribulation. At the close a special emphasis is laid upon *vocation,* which God has commanded us to regard in all the acts of life and to keep our own "estatz et manieres de vivre." One should not exceed or go beyond: for example, it is not for a private man to presume to kill a tyrant. But there also lay in this conception of vocation the power of the call of God, which in this man Calvin spoke masterfully to kings and princes, and moulded a religious revolution.

We leave the *Institute,* to view Calvin's work more generally. Out of the small distracted city of Geneva, he created a model church-state, in which the morals, beliefs and energies of the people were held at the pitch of efficiency. If pleasure-lovers sharply were restrained, and impediments set upon the free intellectual action of individuals, at least it was done by the will of the people, effectuated through this dual communal organism. Yet, while he lived, Calvin's masterful genius could not but make him autocratic; and his direction of affairs promoted the welfare of the town. He lent the acumen of his mind and legal training to a codification of the city's laws, and to the best adjustment of its taxes. He taught that it was not usury to accept reasonable interest upon money loaned; an economic recognition greatly to the commercial advantage of the Reformed. The city's health was the better for his aid in the construction of sewers and the erection

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the massacre of St. Bartholomew (1572), Hotman, de Béze and Marnay turned to the idea that authority is from the people, who can revoke it when abused. Under God, the people are sovereign, and from them a delegated authority passes to King and magistrates. They perceived the importance of the representative assembly; and their ideas influenced Englishmen.

of hospitals. He concerned himself with methods of heating and protection against fires; through him the weaving industry was revived. His latest years brought the establishment of an Academy, through whose eager scholars his influence and the fame of Geneva were spread through France and England. It is hard to say what the city did not in some way owe to her illustrious minister.

Looking from Geneva to France, we see in Calvin a second Paul, taking on himself the care of all the churches. It is he who organizes them; who moulds and formulates their beliefs; regulates their conduct,[71] who mediates their differences; who upholds their courage under persecution. His letters to the French martyrs take us back to exhortations from the persecuted churches of the second century, whose situation was reproduced in the decimated, but ever growing, reformed churches of France.[72] Or again in his letters one might think to hear St. Bernard speaking in the case of some little monk whose parents would not have him so robustly fight for Christ. To a cautious friend who unobtrusively favored the Reform, and would have his more ardent son act with like prudence, Calvin, almost in Bernard's words, writes "si vous estes froid et tardif à sortir de l'abysme où vous estes plongé, pour le moins ne portez pas envie à vous enfans si Dieu les en délivre. . . . Vous ne debvez estre marri [disturbed] que l'authorité de Dieu soit preferée à vostre contentment." [73]

It was wonderful how sure he was that he was right, in the spirit of those who from all Christian times have been ready to die for their faith, and to glorify God. It seems also wonderful to us, (as if we again were listening to

[71] See e.g. Bonnet, *Lettres de Jean Calvin*, I, p. 213, II, p. 311-320, "Aux fideles de France."

[72] See Bonnet, *Lettres de Jean Calvin*, II, pp. 182, 298, 301.

[73] "if you are cold and tardy on leaving the abysm into which you have plunged, at least do not be jealous of your children if God delivers them. . . . You ought not to be disturbed that the authority of God is preferred to your contentment." Bonnet, o. c. II, p. 285. Compare *The Mediaeval Mind*, I, p. 415.

Augustine answering queries) what remarkable things this sixteenth century man of God conceived himself to know. He writes in a letter, "Aux cinq prisonniers de Lyon," who had reason to inquire of such matters: "Touchant de la nature d'un corps glorifié, vray est que les qualitez sont changées, mais non pas toutes." [74]

Calvin had developed his system under German influence at Strasbourg; it came to its full flower only in Geneva, where it could work itself out actually, soul and body, Calvinistic Church and State. But it was a product of the French mind, of the French faculty of undeviating logical thinking and expression. Yet it was not to prove permanently suited to the French character, or adaptable to French institutions. In France, it showed capacity for organization in the face of persecution, comparable to that of the early Church in the Roman Empire, and also amazing fighting energy against overwhelming power. But there it could never reach that full dual church-and-state development which it attained under Calvinistic governments, as in Scotland, and for a time in England. Only under such concurring conditions could all its possibilities be actualized.[75]

74 ("To the five prisoners of Lyon . . . Regarding the nature of a glorified body, it is true that the qualities are changed, but not all of them.") Bonnet, o. c. I, p. 343.

75 To pass beyond the boundaries of France, and her wars of religion, and follow the influence of Calvin in the Low Countries, in Scotland and in England, would require a history of the second half of the sixteenth century, and a history of the seventeenth in the New World as well as in the Old. Calvin "knit the forces of non-Lutheran Protestantism into a real spiritual communion animated by similar ideals and dominated by one view of the Christian life. The ill-related Reformation movements of France, of the Netherlands, of Scotland, to a less degree of Poland and Hungary, found in him their unifying force. He gave them creed, discipline, and organisation. He formulated their theology. He inspired their martyr-courage. He taught them how to oppose Rome. He trained many of their leaders, provided them a city of refuge in persecution, and an example of a disciplined Christian community which attracted their admiration and imitation. Over all this vast region

Nevertheless in France, as well as in Great Britain and Massachusetts Bay, Calvinism was an educational discipline, teaching men to know the Bible, training them to think straight and true, and giving them courage to apply their logic to religion, to government and to society. It carried tremendous educational value as a discipline and sharpening of the mind. Further; it represented a heightening and an increase of the effective validity of thought. If its specific tenets are no longer held by enlightened people, it was in its time a most specific enlightenment in religion, piercing through superstitions and the distortions of the glosses of tradition, to the text and significance of Scripture. It was a way out from the pit. Intellectual advance may relate directly to religion and to ultimate conceptions of the relationship between God and man. It need not be directly concerned with secular temporalities, with physical

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he exercised an unofficial but far-reaching episcopate. By constant correspondence, by personal acquaintance and appeal to those whom he never met face to face, by the labours of those who had been his pupils and reproduced his spirit, he moulded the growth and determined the form of the Reformation movement to a degree comparable with the work of no other among the reformers save Luther. But for him the story of the Reformation outside of the land of its birth would have been vastly different. . . . [His] authority was not due to office or peculiar advantage of station. It was purely one of mind over mind. But it was all the more real and long enduring. Calvin so impressed his interpretation of Christian truth and of the Christian life upon men that they thought his thoughts after him, and his ideas became part of the mental fabric of a large portion of the inhabitants of central and western Europe, and ultimately of North America.

"The influence of Calvinism, for more than a century after the death of the Genevan reformer, was the most potent force in Western Europe in the development of civil liberty. What the modern world owes to it is almost incalculable. Yet Calvin was never by intention a political reformer. His interests were always overwhelmingly religious; and the results of Calvinism in the cause of religious freedom were the indirect and unexpected, rather than the anticipated consequences of his work. They were the effect of the logic of Calvin's principles, rather than any conscious part of his reformatory aim." W. Walker, *John Calvin*, pp. 402-404.

science, or with *belles lettres*. Yet Calvin himself, in the entire compass of his knowledge, might perhaps be held the most notable scholar of his age, surpassing all men in the keenness of his knowledge of the Bible, and with splendid training in law and in classical scholarship. So far as relates to this large compass of his learning, he was a humanist; though never a humanist in the sense of regarding the humanities as in themselves an end. Instead, he was a Deist; his end was God, and the glory of God, reflected downward through restoring grace freely given to obedient and adoring men, that is to the elect. In the otherwise ineradicable corruption of man's nature, there was no good thing, save what came with this freely imparted saving grace of God.

Rabelais and Calvin, those two greatest of contemporary Frenchmen, peers in knowledge and in mental grasp; in their different ways both set against the superstitions and corruptions of the Church;—is it not interesting to observe their far more fundamental and universal opposition? The understanding and acceptance of life by Rabelais and by Calvin were in mortal conflict. The one held all human life, including every positive element of it, to be good and utterly desirable; the other held humanity to be vile and diseased, until restored and changed by the injection of what was not human, but from God. Rabelais was as comprehensive and tolerant in his temperament as in his mind. Calvin subordinated life to service, and though abominating monkish vows and like formal renunciations, had but casual consideration for any happiness or pleasure which did not make for the glorifying of the Creator and Monarch of the World, the Creator and restorer of the Saints.

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the French mind

There were similarities, in France, to the intellectual advances of Italy, but Gallic history and the French temperament gave a singularly French aspect to the Renaissance in that country, declares Henry Osborn Taylor. Italy was a stimulus, but France also responded to Erasmus, to Nicolas of Cusa, and to the spirit of religious reform prevailing in Germany and England. For France, in a sense, the Renaissance was a return to its own beginnings in the twelfth century.

The *Memoirs* of Commynes expresses the spirit of a France becoming strong and united under Louis XI and depicts the monarchy patronizing the new learning and literature. From the *Memoirs*, Taylor proceeds to an assessment of the circle of Marguerite de Navarre and its humane and religious inclusiveness; of Rabelais, whose gaiety of spirit held every positive element of life to be good and utterly desirable; and of "La Pléiade," with its defense of the language not as a symbol of thought but as its effective completion. He also discusses Amyot, Montaigne, Ramus, and Calvin, among the century's central figures.

***The French Mind* is the third of the five books comprising Henry Osborn Taylor's *Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century*. Its scope and organization permit it, like the others in this study, to be read as an enti[illegible]lependent work; the complete series provides a c[illegible]nsive survey of the period.**

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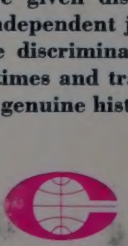

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